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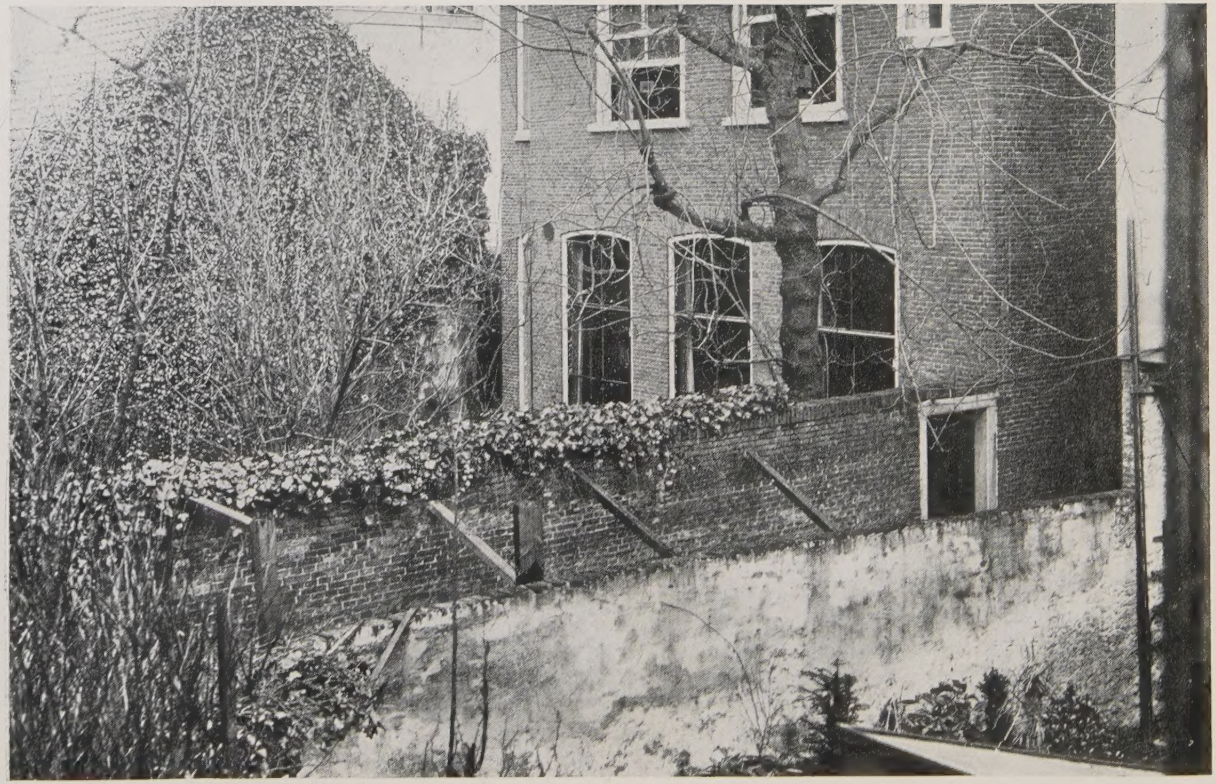

BREWSTER'S PRINTING-HOUSE IN A.D. 1922 [*Frontispiece*

THE PILGRIM PRESS

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL & HISTORICAL MEMORIAL *of the* BOOKS PRINTED *at* LEYDEN *by the* PILGRIM FATHERS

By RENDEL HARRIS & STEPHEN K. JONES

WITH A CHAPTER *on the* LOCATION *of the* PILGRIM PRESS *in* LEYDEN *by* DR. PLOOIJ

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INTRODUCTION.

The Tercentenary of the sailing of the Pilgrim Fathers for New England furnishes an opportunity for fresh memorials of their heroism and of their endurance, and of their insight and far-sight, over and above the incidents and events which are already familiar to the historical student; and it also gives occasion for the re-examination of certain elements of their story, which may have been inadequately or incorrectly presented.

We need not be surprised that there is still much to do and much to discover in connection with this interesting theme. We recall that it is only three-quarters of a century since the Terra Sancta of the Pilgrims in Nottinghamshire was discovered by Joseph Hunter, and although since then research by students from both sides of the Atlantic has been industriously and even enthusiastically pursued, it is still lawful to say in Scriptural language, such as the Pilgrims themselves would have employed, that "there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed". There are still some fresh things for the historian to do, and some former things for him to do better.

In the whole story of the Pilgrims there are not many passages more dramatic than those which occur in the account of the fortunes of their Printing House in Leyden, where for some three years the fight for freedom was fought from under the cover of secrecy, and King James and his advisers, civil and ecclesiastical, were bombarded by unseen hands, and by persons who were

at once anonymous and for a long while undetected. Call it "sniping," if you will, in modern parlance, but in Freedom's warfare even sniping has its appointed place and its proper glory. It was a short-lived but splendid campaign. The close of this part of the struggle, when, after three years' steady work the printers were chased away and their types seized by command of British emissaries, is a fine chapter's ending in the history of the Puritan revolt; no dramatic representation of the Pilgrim movement can afford to ignore it. It has too much life and movement to be neglected; it is charged to the brim with political and religious meaning; even the failure of the Pilgrims to carry on a printing business for export use is one stage further on the road to the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing. The failure was only an incident, an accident. "They were baffled to fight better."

The present volume is, at first sight, wholly bibliographical. It concerns itself to exhibit to the eye, by the method of facsimile, the work of the Leyden printers, and in this manner to supply criteria for the detection of works that may be, with greater or less probability, attributed to them. It is to do for Brewster's press in Leyden, what Mr. Dover Wilson has done for Schilders' Puritan printing-press at Middelburg.[1] The task is not a superfluous one, for although we have lists of Leyden-printed books from the Pilgrims' Press in the works of Dexter and Arber, the description of them is not exhaustive, and for the major part of them the identification has lately been challenged.

Prof. Roland Usher in his recent work on the *Pilgrims and their History* speaks slightingly (among his many other slights) of their performances as printers: he tells us that "not more than sixteen volumes represent their

[1] *Bibliographical Society's Transactions*, Vol. XI., 1912.

labor in the three years 1617, 1618, 1619, proving that their plant was by no means a large one, and hardly a remunerative business". To this statement he appends the following note, in which he reduces the hypothetical "not more than sixteen" to "not more than six," as follows :—

"It is to be feared that Dexter, Arber and Ames have all more than once assumed bare possibilities to have been already demonstrated as truths. So in this case. Only two books bear Brewster's name; two more he admitted printing; two others Carleton, the English Ambassador, said that Dutch printers believed he printed. We have a definite total of four, and a probable total of six. The rest listed by Arber and Dexter bear no imprint *or mark of identification and cannot be demonstrated by evidence ever to have been printed in Holland, to say nothing of tracing them to the Pilgrim Press.*"

The italics which we have employed on this amazing statement appear to be necessary to draw the attention of the reader; if the investigation in the following pages is scientifically correct, it is not Dexter and Arber that will have to defend themselves against the charge of a misuse of the art of reasoning. Whether the Pilgrims had an extensive printing apparatus or not, they were certainly industrious with what they had. Bradford tells us expressly that they were very closely occupied :—

"He [Brewster] had imployment enough: and by reason of many books which would not be allowed to be printed in England, they might have had more than they could do."

Arber's observation, also, is probably just, that, "considering the rate at which books were then produced, the amount of matter, both in Latin and in English, that was put into type, was certainly considerable". Arber

is, of course, assuming the substantial correctness of his identifications.

The extent of the "plant" in the Pilgrim Printing-house may very well have been limited. A single garret in the house of William Brewster sufficed to conceal the type-cases and the types. Arber leans towards a belief in the paucity of the material, for he conjectures that the made-up forms were not worked off by Brewster and his allies, but taken to some of the Dutch Printing-houses to be "machined" off. There is, however, a consideration which appears to us to weigh heavily against this belief that the Pilgrims had nothing beyond a box of letters and a composing stick! It will be remembered that, after the Pilgrims' Press had been broken up by the civil and academic authorities at Leyden, and the types removed, and after the printers had been scattered, something significant happened on board the ship *Mayflower*, which was taking two of the chief printers to the West. In the stress of a great storm one of the main beams of the ship became "bowed and cracked," and, in order to bring it back into position and keep it there, the Captain, one Christopher Jones, requisitioned from the hold of the ship a *great iron screw* which the passengers had brought out of Holland. With this screw or screw-jack the beam was restored to a horizontal position, and was then fortified by a support. It may well be asked what the emigrants were doing with a great iron screw. It would have been one of the last things a company of exiles would have laden themselves with. But suppose we ask what the emigrants had been doing with the aforesaid screw, since they certainly have it in possession on leaving Holland and were not likely to have secured it as a new acquisition when they were departing. The answer is obvious; it was the part of the

printing-press, which the Leyden authorities had not carried off. There was no object in leaving it in Leyden; the two printers on board the ship (Brewster and Winslow) might have been reluctant to part with it. Perhaps they even thought that in a few years' time they would be able to import some type, and begin once more their civil and spiritual propaganda. It is certainly curious, this story of the great screw, and, up to the present, has never been elucidated. We suggest, then, that Arber is wrong in the belief that the printing-off of the Leyden books was done by Dutch auxiliaries; in other words, the printing-house plant was not so meagre as he imagined. They had a printing-press as well as type.

Now for a few words with regard to the firm of printers, let us call them Brewer, Brewster & Co. of Choir Alley, Leyden. The present volume, being mainly concerned with bibliographical details, is not the place to write over again the histories of the leading actors in the plot; but there are one or two details which may have escaped notice, even if we do not wish to repeat all that Arber and others have told us about the persecution of Brewer and the pursuit of Brewster. In the first place, a word or two with regard to Brewer.

The establishment of the Leyden Printing-house was of the nature of a new religion; at all events it was a religious act at the centre of a new religion. The case did not differ in one way from that of the man who invented a new religion, and then started out on the quest for the necessary capitalist. But even the captured capitalist of a new religion has to be imbued with the religion, if his annexation is to be financial and not merely patronal. He must be or become something of a believer.

This is precisely the case of Thomas Brewer, the Kentish gentleman of means, who became the paymaster of the new firm; there is no doubt he was a devout evangelical of the Biblical and Puritan type; a catholic person, too, who travelled far and wide to spread the new truth by his own means and by the means of those whom he assisted to similar work. If his story could be told, it would be as apostolic in its sufferings, its imprisonments and its patience as any of the pioneers of the Christian revival in that day, or at the beginning. He never actually joined the Pilgrim Church; perhaps he had too many friends outside to make him desire to come inside. And here is a curious point in his experience, which has, I believe, never been noticed; he was, by anticipation, a Fifth Monarchy man, and held advanced views (or what were thought to be such) with regard to the approaching End of the Age, views which might easily have prejudiced a final approach on his part to the status of a Pilgrim. The proof of this statement we will now proceed to give.

In the State Papers in the Record Office for 1626 there is an account given by one James Martin (probably one of the brood of informers hatched by the disciplinary Acts of Elizabeth and James or perhaps an over-zealous cleric), of the way in which he tracked down the meetings of Brownists and other Sectaries in Kent: he tells us, *inter alia*, that "Thomas Brewer, Gentleman, hath writ a book containing about half a quire of paper; wherein he prophesies the destruction of England, within three years, by two Kings; one from the north, the other from the south".[1]

To ordinary readers this may mean nothing: it is

[1] S.P. Dom., Charles I., Vol. XXXV, No. 110. I don't see why Arber should suggest that it was not a printed book.

significant enough to the Biblical student, who will recognize at once that Brewer has been reading the book of Daniel (just as the first generation of Christians did), and finding its fulfilment in the men and the occurrences of his own time. One has only to turn to Dan. xi. 5 *seqq.* to find the king of the north and the king of the south, and all their doings and all their destiny: as the Gospel says, ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω—"He that reads will understand".

I do not know whether any one has ever made a careful study of Adventism in the Puritan times as contrasted with the Adventism of the first century. It would be an interesting bit of research. One thing is fairly clear; the average Adventist, in any century, does not generally concern himself with a remote future. In the days of King James I. he finds England as "the pleasant land" and James as the unpleasant person. When Charles I. comes to the throne, the matter has now to be re-stated; the Fifth Monarchy doctrine now affirms Charles to be the "little horn" that magnifies itself against heaven and makes war with the saints: a certain Aspinwall, for example, among the Puritans, espouses the doctrine, and then we have a pamphlet by the Adventist and counter pamphlets by the enraged Royalist, to settle the question, until the little horn is broken off: after which we begin again. But we must not loiter over Adventist doctrine, or the Fifth Monarchy. It does not seem to have affected the Leyden School, in spite of the presence of Brewer among them: their teacher was too wise for amateur history or prophecy.

Brewer, then, found the funds for the new firm, shared their risks, too, in other ways: went to prison for them and with them, and appears to have behaved himself, through it all, as a Christian gentleman should.

He even wrote books himself, and printed them (perhaps at Leyden). A volume of his spiritual teachings is preserved in the British Museum, and the preface alludes to the literary activity of the author. We come, now, to the case of his helpers and allies, of whom we know three, viz. William Brewster, Edward Winslow and John Reynolds. The three fall under different heads, from the point of view of the Printers' Trade Union. Reynolds is the only one of whom we can be reasonably sure that he was a printer by trade. He came to Leyden from London, and, when the final crash came, or shortly before, he migrated to Amsterdam, where printers were, no doubt, in demand. During his stay in Leyden, on July 28, 1617, he found a wife in the person of Prudence Grindon, and after her death and on his return to Amsterdam, he married again, this time to Persis Bailey (Ap. 24, 1621). We have the certificates of the two marriages in the Leyden and Amsterdam records, where he is described as a printer, from London, who has been living in Amsterdam for two years. So he escaped in 1619. Of the other two printers, Brewster certainly did not come to Leyden in that capacity; he was an incipient statesman who had lapsed into the Postal Service, through the fall of his patron Davison from royal favour. Not a single "m" of type had ever passed through his hands when he came to Holland. Then he must have learnt his craft as an apprentice, either from Winslow or from Reynolds, or in a Dutch Printing-house. Setting aside the latter alternative as remote, we have to choose between Winslow and Reynolds. If Winslow was, like Brewster, a gentleman amateur, then Reynolds is the real head of the new printing-press and the teacher of the other two. But is this a necessary supposition? Winslow is also described, in the Betrothal books of Leyden, as "Printer, of London".

The last detail is not quite correct. He may have come to Leyden viâ London, but he has been recognized as coming at an earlier date from Droitwich. Even this is not the last word in origins, for when Winslow migrated from New Plymouth and laid out an estate of his own he called it Careswell, though the name has been displaced by the township of Marshfield, Mass. That is the name of his native village. It lies quite close to Droitwich.[1] Dr. Whitley, who belongs to the very same town of Droitwich, and draws attention afresh to the village home of Winslow, thinks he was brought up a printer. In that case, see how legendary history grows. Some one starts a suggestion that he was a gentleman on his travels, and that he happened upon the Leyden Pilgrims and was so struck with their faith and order, that he gave up everything to join them. Some one else says that he was travelling on the Continent *with his wife*, although the Leyden books do not record his marriage till April, 1618. So legend blossoms into legend.

It seems that the only thing that is certain about the arrival of Winslow is that he came over in 1617 from London, as a printer, exactly as Reynolds did. Probably they were both of them engaged by Brewer in London, when the scheme for the printing-press was being developed. In that case we may take Winslow as Brewster's instructor in printing, as he is clearly a person of a different quality from Reynolds. These, then, are the three men who form the printing staff, and Brewster, as the oldest of the group (for the other two are young unmarried men when they arrive), assumes direction of the whole business. He is the "prince of men," after

[1] The meaning of Careswell eludes me: it is certainly the same name as [Kings] Kerswell in Devonshire, and Carswell in Scotland, but who is the Car or Ker in charge of the sacred well? A Celtic deity?

Robinson and along with Robinson. No attempt appears to have been made to catch Reynolds, nor to entrap Winslow; but for Brewster the hunters spread their nets in every alley which he was thought to frequent. There were two reasons why he was never caught; the first was the secret friendship of the Dutch for Brewer and himself, a friendship on the part of the civil authorities and of the University men. The best test of Brewster's popularity may be found in the fact that the undergraduates raised a disorder over him and cried "Privilege!" Now no Leyden undergraduate would have incubated a riot over an arrested Brownist; that is not the students' way. They are usually overgrown schoolboys, prompt to repel, and quick to disown, any progressive men or measures; as to the present day, at Cambridge, where a person of advanced opinions runs the risk of being thrown into the thing that they call a river, by a group of rowdies whom they call gentlemen. Brewster was a popular private tutor, and as such the students rallied to him, and the Dons did their best to assist him to escape. There was no lack of *rapport* between Leyden University and the little English colony of exiles. So much for the first reason why Brewster eluded capture. The second is even more important, and is in some ways dependent on the first. Brewster escaped and actually got to New England under a disguised name, the disguise being patent to the Leyden officials but unintelligible to the English pursuers. It was the Dutch custom of the time to name people, both men and women, after a patronymic, as Janszoon or Cornelisdochter, with the gradual addition and encroachment of what we call a surname. We have evidence from the Leyden documents that Isaac Brewster, the son of the patriarch, was known to the community as Isaac

Williamson, and since Brewster, senior, was also the son of a William Brewster, he was also entitled, if he chose, to be addressed as Master Williamson. As soon as we make the statement, we clear up at once a couple of perplexities in the Pilgrim History, for we find that, when they reach Cape Cod they are accompanied by a phantom personage, whose name is Master Williamson. He acts with Carver as joint executor of the will of William Mullins, when he is dying on the *Mayflower*. He accompanies Miles Standish on an expedition, when they go out with a file of musketeers, to meet Massasoit, the Indian chief. Up to the present time no solid basis has been found for this phantom: it has been suggested that he was perhaps the ship's factor or supercargo. His name, as well as the prominent positions which he occupies, show in any case, that he is Brewster. This explains also how it came to pass that he was never arrested at Delftshaven or Southampton or Plymouth, though it is practically certain that he was being searched for in every corner of England or Holland. The long correspondence between Secretary Naunton and Ambassador Carleton over the elusive Brewster would be meaningless, if the efforts to catch the man had been only on paper, and unsupported by instructions to officials at places where he was likely to appear. The reason why they failed to secure him was that his passports were in order, though he was posing as some one other than himself, and if photographs had been attached to the passports, they would still have been in order, for he would have posed for the picture as no other than himself, one Master Williamson.

As to the suggestion that he acted as factor of supercargo to the ship, that is not impossible, and would assist him in eluding the searchers; it is not necessary, but it

is possible. When Lyford, the snake in the grass of the Pilgrim Colony, who came out in the interests of the Church of England, to work against the influence of Robinson and prevent his coming, was returning to England, he remarked that if Master Pierce were to be the captain of the ship, and Master Winslow the supercargo, it would be impossible to prevent Robinson from making his way westward. The remark suggests that an understanding between Christopher Jones and Brewster on a previous occasion might have had something to do with the escape of the latter.

We need not spend further time on this point. It is fairly certain that the authorities and one section of the Virginia Company were determined that Robinson should not emigrate, and that they succeeded in detaining him.

We were speaking a while back of the appearance of the phantom Williamson among the Pilgrims when they landed, a ghost, but a substantial figure, if you were to strike at it with your partisan. There was another phantom which flitted across the stage on this side of the water somewhat before the pilgrims sailed. When they were carefully laying their plans, and judiciously spending their money to obtain a patent for Virginia, they had the support of Sir Edwin Sandys, who was, on the one hand, a friend of Brewster, and on the other of Sir Robert Naunton, the King's chief minister. After much trouble a patent was obtained, the King's permission grudgingly granted, the oversight of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London judiciously evaded, and finally the draft patent was brought before the Council of the Virginia Company. A warning note was heard, probably from the friendly Naunton, to take the names of certain patentees off the patent. The meaning was obvious; Brewster's name was at the head of the document as the

leader of the migration, and the officials knew that Brewster was engaged in illicit printing, and that he would probably be wanted presently by the Government. So the patent was withdrawn, and a new one prepared, for one Master Wincob, who is described as a religious person, wishing himself to accompany the Pilgrims and take a hand in the new Plantation. The patent with his name on it was smuggled through at the end of a meeting of the Council, with instructions to the clerk to verify the transcript and report; but nothing came of it; the patent was privately withdrawn and another one prepared with Master Pierce for the chief planter. No one ever heard anything more of Wincob. The ghost only appeared in one Act, and then left the stage for ever. Who was he?

One suggestion arises in our mind, that Wincob or Wencob is Brewster, done into Dutch; the name Wijnkoop (wine-merchant) is near enough to turn the ghost back into reality, and to explain at once the eagerness of the said ghost to join the company of pilgrims and share their voyage.[1] Bradford, in his *Journal*, knows nothing of Wincob, except that he was a religious person attached to the Countess of Lincoln (Bradford says *Lincoline*). Another tradition says he was attached to the Earl of Lincoln. I incline myself to believe that the origin of the story was that Brewster was, at one time, a member of Lincoln's Inn, which college of lawyers boasted descent from an Earl of Lincoln, so that the Inn is the Earl of Lincoln's Inn. But as I have not found the evidence of Brewster's residence in the Inns of Court, and as there is evidence that the Lincoln family were Puritan in their sympathy and supported Puritan movements, it is possible that the

[1] Apparently the clerk made him into *John* Wincob, instead of William Brewster, but that is a minor point.

Bradford tradition as to Wincob's noble sponsors may be correct. That does not prohibit Wincob from being a Dutch translation of Brewster. Some one suspected the patent under that name and it was abruptly withdrawn, to avoid unpleasant questions. Meanwhile the storm was gathering over his head from another quarter. Carleton was beginning to read Leyden books, and so was the British Solomon. Alas! poor ghost! how do I pity thee![1] Now let us turn to the bibliography of our subject, and discuss the volumes in detail that may be assigned to the Pilgrims' Press, at Leyden.

[1] On the other hand, *Wincop* or *Whincop* is a possible English name (= hill covered with furze or whin-bushes), and I noticed among the lady patronesses of the recent Mayflower festival at Whitfield's Tabernacle, a Mistress Whincop! So perhaps the ghost may be given back to reality.

CHAPTER I.

WHERE IN LEYDEN WAS BREWSTER'S PRINTING OFFICE?

By Dr. D. Plooij, Leyden.

In those cases in which the Pilgrims became owners of the houses in which they lived during their stay in Leyden, it is comparatively easy to identify the house where they actually dwelt. Since the middle of the sixteenth century already of every purchase and sale of a house, of every mortgage taken on it and of every obligation laid upon it, of whatever kind it might be, official deeds were made up for the owner or moneylender, and an official transcript of those deeds was inscribed in the different protocols regularly kept for the purpose. So in the Leyden Archives are preserved quite complete records, book after book, shelf after shelf, bookcase after bookcase, endless, in the order of years, for centuries long, of: *Protocol van Waerbrieven*, *Protocol van Schulden Rentebrieven*, *Protocol van willige en onwillige Decreten*, and so on. In this way the history of practically every house in old Leyden may be traced during its existence through three centuries and more.

Besides these official Records there exists a beautiful atlas[1] of 1578 containing maps of streets and canals in Leyden in which each property is marked with the name of the actual proprietor at that time (1578). A facsimile

[1] *Chaertbouck van Straeten binnen deser Stadt Leyden;* en *Chaertbouck van de Stadwateren* gemeten bij Mr. Salomon Davidssoon van Dulmenhorst ende Jan Pieterssoon Dou.

edition of this atlas with an introduction and annotations by W. Pleyte has been published by the firm, E. J. Brill, Leyden, in 1874. The atlas is not exactly of the time of the Pilgrims in Leyden, but it is not too much earlier and will prove a valuable source of information in our researches.

If the house might have come into other hands between 1578 and 1609 we have another extremely valuable source in the so-called *Bonboeken* (Ward-Registers). These are registers of all the houses and their consecutive owners since the middle of the sixteenth century. There are three sets, the oldest called the *Vetus*, the following denoted as *Oud-Belastingboek*, the third simply as *Bonboek* or *Register*. The first and the second are both from the sixteenth century, and seem first attempts, which in the beginning of the seventeenth century are substituted by the definitive register. In these registers and in the corresponding records is always followed a fixed order of streets, so that, this order once found, may lead the way in every investigation of this kind. In the definitive Register for every house and property a page is reserved where every sale of the house is inscribed with the date and other particulars. In the Napoleonic time these Registers were replaced by the modern *Kadaster*.

For him who knows the way in all these records and registers it is possible though not always easy, to identify the house of any of the Pilgrims who bought or sold a house during their stay at Leyden, provided that only a single hint in this direction has been found. In this way it has been possible for Dexter to identify the site of Robinson's house in the "Groene Poort".[1] I have

[1] Cf. *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, by the late H. M. Dexter and his son, Morton Dexter, Boston and New York, 1905, pp. 528-533.

made several investigations in this direction and could show the interested visitor the spot where Bradford lived in Leyden on the Achtergrafte and so on.

With the hired houses, however, the case is quite different. No official deed was made up of the renting of a house, and no tenants but only the owners of the houses are mentioned in the Records. Here, however, another method of identification may be tried. Also for the sake of taxation lists of inhabitants were made up, and these lists also follow the exact order of streets as given in the *Bonboeken*. Such lists were made up for instance in 1606 for the taxation on account of the chimneys in each house,[1] and in 1622 for a Poll-tax.[2] No list, however, exists for the time between 1609 until 1620, the time that Brewster was in Leyden. So it seems excluded to find out where the famous printing-press was.

Is it notwithstanding possible to identify the historical spot?

I think it is. Dexter (Appendix, p. 605) gives the following note: "William Brewster . . . buried child in St. Pancras, June 20, 1609; then lived on *Stinksteeg*. Made affidavit June 25, 1609, with wife and son, Jonathan, of receipt of a bale of cloth from Bernh. Ross. Then about 42 and lived on St. Ursulasteeg."

The first of these data is nearly right: In the Register of Burials[3] we find: "SINTE PANCRAES, op den 19en Juny (1609) 7. Een kind van Willem Brewster by de

[1] *Schoorsteenbouck over de Stadt Leyden ende de Vryheyt van dien van den jare XVI^c VI.*

[2] *Hoofdgeld*, 1622. In this Register, fol. xxxviii., we find the family of John Robinson: "Jan Robbenson predicant, Brigitta Robbenson syne huysvrouwe, Jannes, Brugitta, Isack, Mercij, Ferer, Jacobus, Robbensons kinderen, Marye Hardy dienstmeyd".

[3] *Register van de overleden personen binnen Leyden*, no. 3, fol. viii., verso.

Stincksteech" (i.e. a child of William Brewster near the Stinksteeg). In the other notice, however, there is a mistake, which recurs in the translated extract of the document from which the notice has been taken (Dexter, l.c., p. 505). The notice would be suspect already in itself because it would be very casual if within the six days between the first and the second date Brewster would have removed from the Stincksteech to the St. Ursulasteech. Actually we find in the Records of Affidavit,[1] a declaration from which we quote what is important for our present purpose:

> "Compareerden voor Schepenen ondergeschr. Willem Bruster Engelsman out omtrent XLII jaeren, Marytgen Bruster deszelffs huysvrouwe out omtrent XL jaeren ende Jonathan Bruster zyn zoon out omtrent XVI jaeren ende verclaerden . . . dat den requirant ommegang laestleden ten huyse van haer getugen staende in de *Stincksteeg* gebracht heeft . . . etc. Actum den XXV Junij a° XVI^c negen."
>
> That is: "Appeared before the undersigned Bailiffs William Brewster Englishman, aged about forty-two years, Mary Brewster wife of the same, aged about forty years, and Jonathan Brewster, his son, aged about sixteen years and declared . . . that the plaintiff at his latest circular tour carried to the house of the witnesses, situated in the *Stinksteeg* . . . etc. Actum June 25th, 1609."

So the evidence is entirely unanimous, that Brewster had his dwelling in the Stinksteeg. We notice only one small difference in the two documents, the first reading: *by* i.e. *near* the Stinksteeg, the other *in* the same. There is no doubt, however, that the same house is meant in the two documents.

[1] *Getuigenisboek K*, fol. xxvi., verso.

The Stinksteeg generally is identified with a narrow alley running from the *Steenschuur* to the *Levendaal*, and is now called more fashionably *Jodenkerksteeg* (Jewish Church-alley). At first sight, however, it is not very probable that in this case the identification is right. Most of the Pilgrims, perhaps two-thirds of them or even more, dwelt in the near neighbourhood of the Pieterskerk where they very soon bought the house of John Robinson in the "Groene Poort".

On the other hand, we have the evidence of Brewster himself that in 1617 he dwelt in the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg, a narrow (we shall see that "narrow" is a very elastic conception!) alley running from the Pieterskerk to the Breedstraat. Two of the Brewster-imprints, viz. GUIL. AMESII Ad responsum Nic. Grevinchovii Rescriptio contracta, and CARTWRIGHT'S Commentarii succincti in Proverbia Salomonis, both from the year 1617, bear the printer's name and address: "Lugduni Batavorum, Apud Guilielmum Brewsterum, in *Vico Chorali*," i.e. "in the (Pieterskerk)koorsteeg. So whatever may be the case with the Stinksteeg, in 1617 Brewster dwelt in the 'Koorsteeg'."

There is no trace of his removal from elsewhere to the Koorsteeg; we are sure also that he did not own a house in the Koorsteeg, if so, we should find his name in the *Bonboeken*. So we shall have to try other ways of research.

In the Introduction, page ix, to the beautiful volume Dr. Rendel Harris and myself had the honour to publish on the occasion of the Dutch Pilgrim Tercentenary Celebration under the title, *Leyden Documents Relating to the Pilgrim Fathers*,[1] we draw attention to a very curious

[1] *Leyden Documents Relating to the Pilgrim Fathers.* Permission to reside at Leyden and Betrothal Records; together with parallel docu-

notice in the Betrothal Record of John Reynolds. The entry (in our volume, fol. xxxii., in the original Record *Raadhuisechtboek*, B. fol. lxvi., r.) runs thus :—

Woont int huys van WILLEM PAUWELSZ in de Prs. korssteech

't I^{e} den 29.7.1617
't II^{e} den 5.8.1617
't III^{e} den 12.8.1617
zyn getrout voor WILLEM WARMONT ende HUYCH CODYCK schepenen dezen XVIII en Augusti 1617

Aenget den XXVIII en July 1617 JAN REYNOUTS drucker jonggesel van Londen in Engelandt vergeselschapt met JONATHAN WILLEMSZ zyn bekende

met

PRUDENS GRINDON jongedochter mede van Londen in Engelant vergeselschapt met MARYE BRYSTER ende MARY ALLERTON haer bekenden

(Translated:) Dwells in the house of WILLEM PAUWELSZ in the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg.

(Banns)
the 1st: July 29th 1617
the 2nd: Aug. 5th 1617
the 3rd: Aug. 12th 1617
are married before WILLEM WARMONT aud HUYCH CODYCK bailiffs this XVIIIth of August 1617

Entered July 28th 1617 JOHN REYNOLDS, printer, bachelor from London in England accompanied by JONATHAN WILLIAMSON (BREWSTER), his acquaintance

with

PRUDENCE GRINDON, spinster, also from London in England, accompanied by MARY BREWSTER and MARY ALLERTON her acquaintances.

We remarked in a note: "Reynolds evidently came over to help Brewster and Winslow to start the printing.

ments from the Amsterdam Archives. Facsimile, transcript, translation and annotations by Dr. D. Plooij of Leyden, and Dr. J. Rendel Harris of Manchester. 74 phototypic plates: 14 × 9 in. F° Bd. Leyden: E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1920. A few copies are still available from the Publishers.

Reynolds dwelt in the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg, probably in the house where the Pilgrim Press was (in Vico Chorali). He retreated apparently to Amsterdam at the time of the search for the Pilgrim Printers and was married there, Prudence Grindon being now dead, to Persis Bailey on April 24, 1621." And in the Introduction we remarked: "One entry is specially interesting. The site of the house where Brewster's press was, is entirely unknown. Perhaps we may be able to find it out (we are going to try) by the entry of John Reynolds' marriage. Reynolds is said to be dwelling in the house of Willem Pauwelsz. in the Pieterkerkkoorsteeg. He came as a printer and married Aug. 18, 1617. Afterwards he retired to Amsterdam. So it is inly probable that he dwelt in the very house in the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg where the Printing Press was secreted." I am going to fulfil our promise.

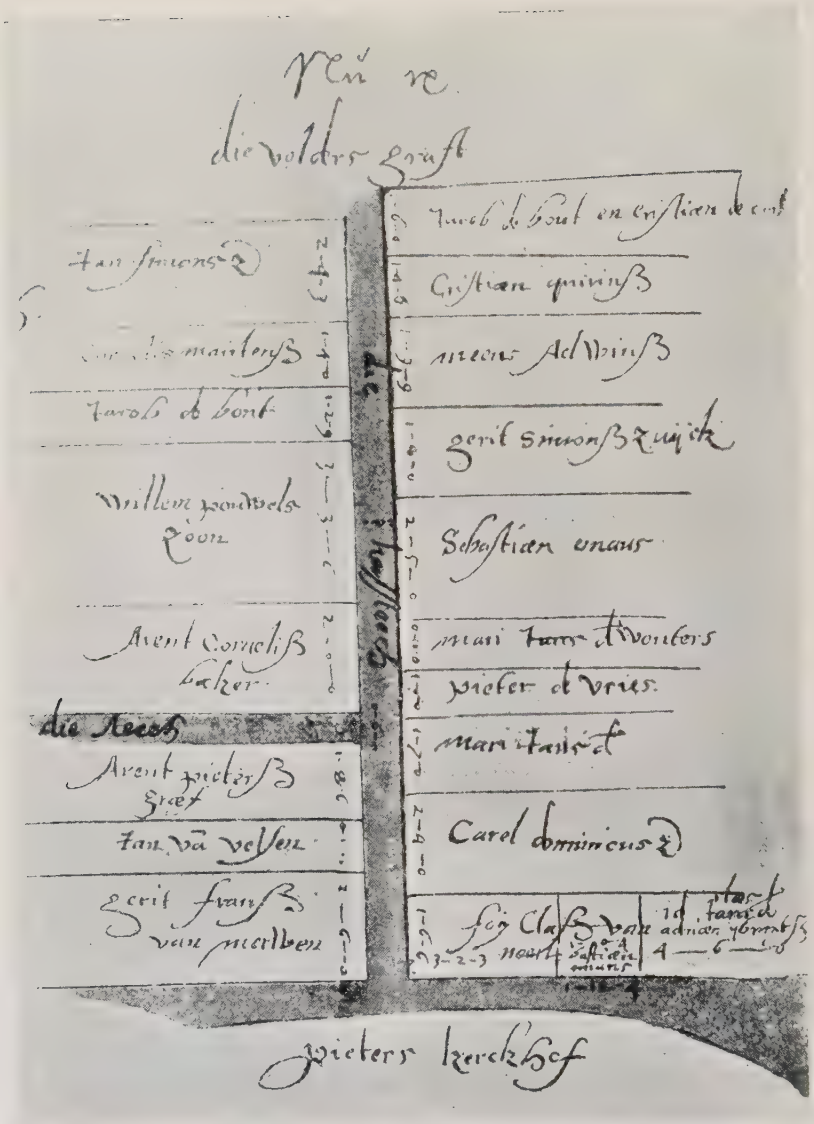
At the date of his second marriage of which both the Amsterdam and Leyden Records preserve the memory, and which took place in Leyden, April 24, 1621 (cf. *Leyden Documents*, fol. xlvi. in the original *Raadhuisechtboek*, B., fol. cxviii., verso), Reynolds had been an inhabitant of Amsterdam, dwelling near the Exchange for two years (cf. *Leyden Documents*, fol. lxxii., *Doop-, trouw-en begraaf-register*, No. 667, fol. lii., recto). So Reynolds retired from Leyden in 1619,[1] by which date our suggestion is justified sufficiently, that he retired at the time of the search for the Pilgrim Printers. Probably he found employment at one of the rather numerous other English printers at that time in Amsterdam.

[1] His wife was buried in St. Pieterskerk, April 27, 1619; only two days before Reynolds buried his child, April 25, 1619, also in the Pieterskerk. They dwelt then on the Pieterskerkhoff, apparently in one of the little houses belonging to the house of Robinson. Cf. Register van overl. personen 4, fol. lxxii., recto et verso.

At his first marriage he was accompanied as a witness by Jonathan Willemsz., i.e. Jonathan Brewster, son of William Brewster, the Elder, and his bride, Prudence Grindon was accompanied by Mrs. Mary Brewster, the Elder's wife, and by Mrs. Mary Allerton. That both the bridegroom and the bride were accompanied by a member of the family of Brewster is an additional proof for the near relation in which Reynolds stood not only to the Elder but also to his family.

Nearly the same is the case with Winslow, another of Brewster's printers. He married in May, 1618, and as witnesses are mentioned for the bridegroom: Jonathan Willemsz. (Brewster) and Isaac Allerton, and for the bride, Janie Hezel (?) and Mrs. Mary Allerton (cf. *Leyden Documents*, fol. xxxv., in the original *Raadhuisechtboek*, B., fol. lxxv., recto).

Now, Reynolds is said to "dwell in the house of Willem Pauwelsz. in the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg". The note is rather curious. In ordinary cases it is (if at all) only noted that Mr. so and so dwells in Street so and so, sometimes with a little additional definition. I take for instance the first Pilgrim entry in our *Leyden Documents* (fol. iii.): "Robert Peck, fustianworker from England, dwelling here on the Hogewoert at the 'Blue Lions,' accompanied etc."—or the second entry (*ibid.*, fol. iv.): "William Pontus, fustianworker, bachelor from England, dwelling in Marendorp, near Douver, accompanied etc." The dwelling-place is not always given, not often even, but if it is, it is given simply as the house or street where the registered person is actually living and is embodied in the entry itself. Here it is added, apparently afterwards, and above the entry itself, in the curious form: "dwells in the house of Wm. Pauwelsz. in the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg"!



Section of Map of Leyden Streets in A.D. 1578, showing the Brewster House on the left (Willem Pouwelszoon)

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We turn now to the map of 1578 to see whether we can find a trace of Willem Pauwelsz. in the Koorsteeg. It is not so very easy because the Koorsteeg is divided in different parts each belonging to a different "Bon" (Ward). At last we find the part we want. A reproduction is given on the opposite page. Our little map is divided into two parts by the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg, called here "die kerssteech". We see here that the qualification "narrow," generally given to this alley is at all events elastic, for we see on the map another lane much narrower than the Koorsteeg, called here simply "die steech". Next to this lane we see marked the property of Arent Cornelisz. Backer, then follows Willem Pauwelsz., then Jacob de Bont. So, that is all right and we have found out at least the whereabouts of Reynolds.

Now we turn to the *Bonboeken*, and we find in "'t Eerste Register vervattende Over'thoff," fol. iii^{c}liii (353) that the property of Willem Pauwelsz. van Thorenvliet is the site of two houses owned by him, one of which was sold February 2, 1634, by Huich Zegersz. van Campen as husband and guardian of Aechgen Willemsdochter van Thorenvliet to Stoffel Jansz., cabinetmaker. The deed relating to this notice in the *Bonboek* is registered in the *Protocol van willige and onwillige decreten*, Vol. VIII. (1632-1639), fol. lxxix., but gives no further information relating to our present subject. This Stoffel Jansz., however, who buys the house is nobody else than the well-known member of the Pilgrim Colony, Christoffer Ellis, son of John Ellis. He was the brother-in-law of Richard Masterson and had in this capacity the care for the house which Masterson left in Leyden. It is to him that Governor Bradford wrote that letter in 1649 which has been discovered in the Goodyear documents and, in one word, he was one of the well-to-do business

men of the Pilgrim Colony. A list of a great number of sales and purchases of houses performed by him has been given by Dexter, l.c., p. 613. That it is he who buys the house of Willem Pauwelsz. van Thorenvliet confirms the assumption that this house and this man had something to do with the Pilgrims.

All this, however, does not yet lead to any *conclusive* proof. We do not yet find the clue why it is "in the house of Wm. Pauwelsz." that Reynolds is said to dwell, nor how Brewster could dwell in the Stincksteech and in the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg at the same time.

Now we turn to the Registers of inhabitants in Leyden in time, as near as possible to the time of the Pilgrims.

In the *Schoorsteenbouck* (Chimney-book) of 1609 we find for the houses of Willem van Thorenvliet in the Koorsteeg the following notices:—

	menigte van vuyr plaetsen.	geld in de verponding 1606.	comt schoorsteen geld.
"Willem van Thorenvliet huys eygen ende in huyr wert gebruict by Jan van Royen op 't wyfs aengeven.	vier	VIIIgld. IIIst.	VIgld.
"deselve syn huysinge eigen ende wert gebruict by Franchoys Dirc Hoest op 't wyfs aengeven"	seven	XVIgld. XVIIIst.	Xgld. Xst.

i.e.

Willem van Thorenvliet, house, owner, and is rented and in use by Jan van Royen; on information from his wife: four chimneys; tax in 1606, 8 gld. 3 st.; chimney tax six guilders.

The same; his mansion, owner, and is in use by François Dirc Hoest, on information from his wife: *seven* chimneys, tax 1606: 16 gld. 18 st.; chimney tax: 10 gld. 10 st.

Then follows the house of Arent Cornelisz. Backer, which is also divided into two houses, and then the

Register says: "here the lane is crossed (hier wert de Stege overgesprongen)". We note that the house of Pauwelsz. nearest to the Lane is far the greater of the two, it has seven chimneys, and pays more than the double in the tax. Both houses are inhabited by tenants not by the owner himself. In the *Hoofdgeld* of 1622 (part Overthoff, fol. ii., verso) we still find in the first house Jan van Royen with his family, but in the second, larger house, next to the lane we find (fol. iii., recto) "Pietertgen Nachtegaels wed. van Willem Pauwelsz. van Thoornvliet, Jan Willemsz. haer zoon, Jannetgen haer dienstmaecht," so that her husband being now dead, Mrs. van Thorenvliet has gone into the house she owns in the Koorsteeg.

We still are groping in the dark: we do not find direct evidence. Turning, however, a few pages in the *Schoorsteenbouck* we find at once the missing link. The narrow lane running behind the houses of the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg, from the Pieterskerkstraat to the Langegracht (then Volregracht) is called since centuries the "Aerent Roelentsteech" and the cross-lane was simply called "Dwerssteech" (Cross-lane) or even "die Steech" (the Lane). So it is called on our map from 1578. But on fol. lxviii., verso, where the Arent Roelantsteeg must be crossed we find the entry: "*Here wert de Stinxsteech overgesprongen*," i.e. "*here the Stinksteeg is crossed*". The name is apparently a lapsus here for it is the only case that the Lane is called thus. But, of course, such a lapsus must have originated in a previous name of the Steeg, altered since years and years into the official and more decent name Arent Roelantsteeg, after a Bailiff of Leyden of the fourteenth century; and it must be still in popular use, so that the clerk uses it unconsciously.

So we go back to older documents and find that in

the *Belastingboek*, "Vetus," the name of Arent Roelant is not yet used but that both the lane behind Willem Pauwelsz.' house and the cross-lane next to Arent Cornelisz. are called indeed "die Stinxsteech". Now we are getting near to the solution of the riddle: we proceed in the *Schoorsteenbouck* and want to know who inhabited the Stinksteeg in 1606. We find fol. lxxiv., recto:—

> "Aerent Roelantsteghe, zuydzyde is onbewoont. De huyzen daer uitkomende zyn de achterzyde van de huyzen waervan de voorzyde in de Prs. korsteeghuitkomt."

That means that the back of the houses in the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg faced the Stincksteeg, but that there were no other inhabitants besides those who dwelt in the corresponding houses of the Koorsteeg.

But now the cross-lane having its exit in the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg:—

> "Dwersstege Oostzyde van de Kersstege off Noortwaerts aenloopende:—
>
> "Willem Pouwelsz. van Thorenvliets achterhuis es onder 't voorhuis begrepen, cf. Pouwelsz. zyn broeder . . . een gld."
>
> I.e. "the hindpart of Willem Pauwelsz.' house *is included in its frontpart*, cf. Pauwelsz. his brother."

All this proves that in 1606 the hind-part of Willem Pauwelsz.' house formed a separate dwelling; that, however, it belonged not to Willem Pauwelsz. himself, but to his brother who had to pay the chimney tax for it. It was not rented in 1606, for tenants are not mentioned. Nor was the brother of Pauwelsz. dwelling there. For we find his name in the *Schoorsteenbouck*, fol. ccccxlii., recto: "Broer Jansz. bewoondt by Pouwel Pouwelsz. op 't aengeven van de soon één". This refers to a house in Marendorp, quite another part of the city where ap-

parently Pouwel Pouwelsz. is dwelling though he owns the house in the Stincksteeg. Probably the hind part of the house was in use by Paul's brother Willem, who owned also the front side.

Now we find about this house the following particulars :—

In the oldest *Belastingboek* (Vetus), fol. lxvi., recto, we find for the side of the "Stinxsteegh" where the house stood only this entry :—

> "Willem Pouwelsz. huysken verhuyrt is getaxeert op. . . . . V gld."
> "Little house of William Pouwels, rented, is taxed for 5 guilders."

This is in the whole steeg the only house at the time. In the following Registers, however, we find that other houses have been built there. In 1623 there are at least two : the *Oud-Belastingboek* gives fol. cxxiv., the notice that in 1623 has been sold by the widow of Willem van Thorenvliet one of the two houses in the Stinksteeg, and that the heirs of Pouwel Pouwelsz. sold the other in 1631, August 4.

In the *Hoofdgeld* of 1622 (fol. xxxiii., verso), we find on the spot where in 1606 we found only the hind-part of Willem Pauwelsz.' house in the possession of his brother the following families :—

arm Grietchen Henricxdr. wed. van Jan van Goch.
Dirc
Antoni } haer kinderen.
Jan

(fol. xxxiiii. r.)

Geryt Arentsz. Scheepstimmerman.
Elia Lievensdr. zyn huisvrou wed. van Sander Boens in 'tselve huys.

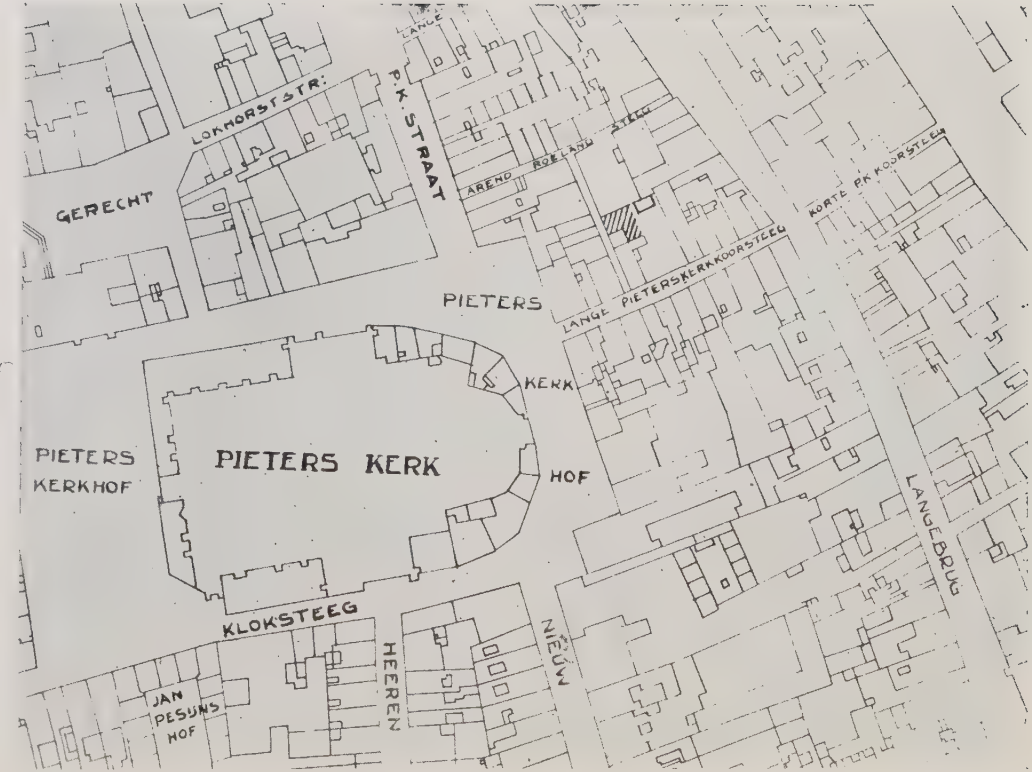
Then: Jacob de Lapper with wife and six children, also noted as "arm" (i.e. poor).

The hind-part of the house of Willem Pauwelsz. with which we are concerned was sold by his widow in 1623.[1] The deed of sale runs translated as follows :—

> "We Dr. Gerrit van Lanschot and Harman Geurtsz. Osseweyer, bailiffs in Leyden make known that before us has come and appeared Pietertgen Jansdr. Nachtegael, widow of the late Willem Pauwelsz. van Thorenvliet, assisted by Willem Dircxz. de Jong, her son-in-law as her chosen guardian, and declared to have sold and transported accordingly by this to and on behalf of Syntgen Boens, widow of Sander Boens *a house and yard standing and lying within this city in the Cross-lane ending in the St. Pieters-choorstege, bounded on this side by Pouls van Thorenvliet Pouwelsz. and on the other side under the passage belonging to the large mansion of her comparant*, and above which Arent Cornsz. Backer's widow, . . . etc."

This suffices to identify beyond any doubt the exact site of Reynolds' dwelling-place and at the same time of Brewster's Press. During the great scarcity of houses in the beginning of the seventeenth century the hind-part of Willem Pauwelsz.' house was used by other families, and in 1623 there lived there even three families. It was in the part immediately behind the house of Arent Cornelisz, that Willem Pauwelsz.' house was built out to the Stincksteeg, and that part was rented by Brewster for himself and for his press. We understand now how Brewster could be said to dwell in the Stincksteeg, and at the same time "in Vico Chorali". We understand now also the strange expression that Reynolds was

[1] In: *Protocol van Waerbrieven*, Z.Z., fol. xliii.



Map of Leyden, showing by Shaded Area the Brewster House

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dwelling in the house of Willem Pauwelsz., Brewster's house was a part indeed of Willem Pauwelsz.' house in the Koorsteeg, but it had its own entrance in the "Stincksteeg".

On the accompanying map of the present situation the site of the spot where Brewster's Press was situated is noted. The two houses of Willem Pauwelsz., owned by him in the Pieterskerkkoorsteeg, are now made into one. The hind-part inhabited by Brewster was comparatively spacious as a few years later three families were dwelling there. At the same time it was not intended for rich people, as shows the remark "poor" in the 1622 Register. And the word used by us in the *Leyden Documents*, that the Pilgrim Press was *secreted* there proves to be quite exact.

Those of the participants to the Dutch Pilgrim Celebration who were the guests of my former colleague now Member of Parliament, Dr. Schokking, unconsciously were sitting on the very spot where Brewster printed his forbidden books, when they were talking with their host in his homely sitting-room.

It might be asked: this historical spot having been discovered, ought it not be made into a permanent place of memory and pilgrimage? As long as it has not been bought by the Government of the United States, I am sure that Dr. and Mrs. Schokking (who by the way do not want to part with it at all), will gladly receive any interested visitor from England or America wishing to visit the spot where Brewster struggled and prepared the victory of freedom of conscience.

CHAPTER II.

WHAT DID BREWSTER PRINT?

§ 1. THE BUILDING UP OF THE CANON.

We now turn from our identification of Brewster's printing office to an examination of the books which have been ascribed to his press. Professor Usher, as we have seen, gives "not more than sixteen" as the maximum. To be precise the figure should be seventeen. Arber[1] gives a total of fifteen items, Dexter[2] gives sixteen, but he arrives at this figure by omitting one of Arber's and adding two fresh ones. We have, therefore, an actual total of seventeen items, with which the press had been credited up to 1904.

Since that date three titles have been added to the list. Copies have been discovered and described of a translation into Dutch of Dod and Cleaver on the *Ten Commandments* bearing Brewster's name in the imprint, until last year only known to bibliographers from an entry in an auction catalogue; in the *Mayflower Descendant* for January, 1920, Mr. Bowman describes and ascribes to the Pilgrim Press Johnson's *Christian Plea*; these two are included in the check-list of nineteen titles published by Mr. Bowman in the *Mayflower Descendant* for July, 1921. We ourselves put forward a claim for a twentieth, viz. an edition, dated 1617, of Dod and Cleaver on the *Ten Commandments* in English.

[1] Arber, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers* (1897), p. 237 ff.

[2] Dexter, *England and Holland of the Pilgrims* (1904), pp. 605-6.

For convenience of reference and comparison we give an alphabetical table of short titles, with reference numbers to our own and to previous lists :—

	Arber.	Dexter.	Bowman.[1]	Our List.
Abridgement of that booke . .	—	1	'7-4	2
Admonition to the Parliament . .	13	—	'7-7	5
Ames, *Rescriptio contracta* . .	2	4	'7-2	1
Calderwood, *De regimine* . . .	6	12	'8-7	10
—— *Perth Assembly* . . .	5	14	'9-1	19
Cartwright, *Confutation* . . .	4	10	'8-1	16
—— *Proverbia*	1	2	'7-3	8
Chaderton, *Fruitful sermon* . .	15	8	'8-?	15
De vera religione	3	11	'8-2	9
Defence of the Petition . . .	11	5	'8-3	11
Dighton, *Certain reasons* . . .	9	6	'8-6	12
—— *Second part*	10	15	'9-2	17
Dod and Cleaver, *Ten Commandments*	—	—	—	3
—— *Thien Gheboden* . . .	—	—	'7-1	4
Euring, *Answer to Drakes* . .	7	16	'9-3	18
Harrison, *Little treatise* . . .	14	7	'8-5	14
Johnson, *Christian plea* . . .	—	—	'7-5	7†
Robinson, *Apologia*	—	13	'9-4	20†
—— *People's plea*	8	9	'8-4	13
Travers, *Eccles. discipline* . .	12	3	'7-6	6

With the single exception of Chaderton's *Fruitful sermon*, known only by one imperfect copy in the Yale University Library, we have ourselves personally examined copies of every one of the books under discussion ; and we have described them all in equal detail, whether or not we believe them to be genuine "Brewsters". It may be as well, therefore, to state quite distinctly at the outset that of the twenty examined we unhesitatingly

[1] To save space we have abbreviated Mr. Bowman's somewhat cumbersome system of notation, which gives the full year in each case, e.g. "1617-4," "1617-7," etc. We have also been obliged to coin a notation for Chaderton, Mr. Bowman having left us in the lurch, and declined to "give it a place and number" in his check list, though he admits that he has "not found anything to indicate that Dr. Dexter erred in claiming this book as a Brewster imprint".

reject two, viz. Robinson's *Apologia* and Johnson's *Christian plea.* It is the remaining eighteen that we shall be at pains to defend against the attacks of Dr. Usher and the sceptics.

But for the moment we would ask our readers to approach with open mind the whole list of twenty. Of these only three, viz. *Ames*, Cartwright's *Proverbia*, and the Dutch version of Dod and Cleaver, bear Brewster's name in the imprint; *De vera religione* he avowed having printed.[1] What, then, is the evidence for or against the remaining sixteen? It is here that we must take up Professor Usher's challenge.

Let us first examine the external evidence. The external evidence for Cartwright's *Confutation* (Arber's No. 4) is good. So much so that, though he does not definitely commit himself, one presumes that this is the fourth item which Professor Usher is willing to accept.

It is one of the few which Sir Dudley Carleton specifically names: he is only too prone to content himself with such general statements as that Brewster was responsible for "most of the Puritan books sent over, of late days, into England," or "all such books as have been sent over into England and Scotland".[2] It may also be worth noting, as evidence that this work had some specially close connection with the little flock at Leyden, that her husband's copy of the "Reemse Testament" is specifically named by Robinson's widow in her will as an heirloom.[3]

We next come to the two pamphlets by Calderwood (Arber's 5 and 6). With the help of "certain experienced printers," Sir Dudley Carleton persuaded himself that the *De regimine* and the *Perth Assembly*

[1] Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 200. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 198-9.
[3] A. Eekhof, *Three Unknown Documents*, p. 26.

were both printed by Brewer. But with regard to the latter we must make some allowance for the "will to believe," since at an earlier date he admitted "I had reason to suspect it was printed in that town [i.e. Leyden]; but, upon more particular enquiry do rest somewhat doubtful," though he adds "if he [Brewster] was not the printer himself, he assuredly knows both the printer and the author".[1]

Carleton, be it noted, extracted no confession from Brewer or his colleagues. Nor is there any record of any examination by experts of Brewster's type-cases. All that was done was to compare acknowledged with suspected *books*. And as to that, the verdict of experts to-day loses nothing in weight because it is not contemporary.

We have, then, three books with Brewster's imprint; one avowed by him; three ascribed to him by not necessarily reliable contemporary witnesses. So far as we are aware no other book is specifically named in any contemporary record as having been printed by Brewster. By what road have the remaining thirteen found their way into the Brewster canon?

There is one important general assumption, which we are certainly entitled to make, namely, that books of the kind we have under consideration did actually issue from the Pilgrim Press. On this point the evidence of friend and enemy alike is unanimous. Bradford's testimony we have already quoted.[2] Carleton, at the time, reports that Brewer and Brewster "print prohibited books, to be vented underhand in His Majesty's kingdoms".[3] To those who challenge us to prove that the books before us were actually printed by Brewster at Leyden we

[1] Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 199, and below, p. 87.

[2] See above, p. 3.

[3] Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

may fairly retort: "If these books were not, show us the ones that were". The books cannot all have disappeared.[1] It is our business to find them. But how?

Arber,[2] indeed, remarks *à propos* of Euring's *Answer to Drakes* that "for books of such a character, and of those dates, no other place of origin can be suggested". But such a line of argument merely weakens the case for the Pilgrim Press, and lays the writer open to the quite justifiable ridicule of the sceptic. For the question "who, for instance, would have dared to have printed William Euring's book but the Pilgrims themselves?" is answered twice over in the course of the very documents which Arber himself prints. Cathkin was accused of printing the *Perth Assembly;* Carlton, when reporting that he has discovered the real printer of the *De regimine*, adds "which His Majesty was informed to be done in Middelburg" i.e. doubtless by Schilders. There is no typographical support for either of these accusations, but the fact that they were made disposes of the case that no other place of origin than the Pilgrim Press can be suggested.

This same point may be approached from another angle. In our provisional list of seventeen items are two by John Robinson. They are Nos. 14 and 15 in a list of twenty-nine writings by Robinson enumerated by Mr. Burgess,[3] and are the only printed items which can by any possibility be made to fall within the "Pilgrim Press" period. Let us suppose that they were both printed by

[1] On this question of survival value reference may be made to the summary of a paper by Mr. A. W. Pollard on *The Short-Title Catalogue of English Books*, 1501-1640 (Bibliographical Society's *Transactions*, Vol. XV., 1920, p. 142). Mr. Pollard suggests that copies of about 60 per cent. of books printed during this period may be expected to have survived.

[2] Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

[3] *John Robinson* (1920), p. 418.

Brewster. Who, we must still ask, printed those of Robinson's works which are dated indisputably before or after the "Pilgrim Press" period, and what reason have we for thinking that the same press could not, or would not, have printed works of a similar nature *during* the period under consideration? With regard to those printed after the break-up of the press, we shall have something to say later. With regard to those printed *before* 1617, there is very little doubt that some, if not all, were printed by Giles Thorp in Amsterdam, and we have signed books from Thorp's press as late as 1619. Here then is a third possible claimant for the honour of printing the so-called "Pilgrim Press" books.

In truth Professor Arber is carried away by his own enthusiasm. It is quite unjustifiable to argue that *all* books of such and such a character and of such and such dates must be from the Pilgrim Press at Leyden. But at the same time it is perfectly clear that it is *amongst* books of this particular character and date that Pilgrim Press books have been, and will be found. It is equally clear that the question which may be reasonably assigned to the press is one that can only be settled finally from the standpoint of pure typography.

Let us take the case of the two little books by John Robinson mentioned above. We may assume, as a probability, that whilst his Elder's press was working Robinson would make use of it. Here, then, are two items to hand which are obviously worth examining. One of these, the *People's Plea*, comes through the typographical test with flying colours. In the next section we shall see how the discovery of a copy in a bound volume of pamphlets led to the unearthing of six more claimants. How Mr. Bowman came to include Johnson's *Christian Plea* in his list is described in the note to our

collation, as is also the story of our own discovery of the English *Dod and Cleaver.*

The presence of the *Abridgement, Admonition,* and Travers' *Eccles. Discipline* in the list we owe to the untiring energy and patient search of students like Arber and Dexter among books of the "Pilgrim Press" period and character.

§ 2. THE EVIDENCE FROM ELDER BREWSTER'S OWN LIBRARY.[1]

We come now to a very important body of evidence, that furnished by the Inventory of Elder Brewster's books, which is attached to his will. It will be recognised as in the highest degree probable that Brewster's library should contain some, at least, of the books which he had published during his residence in Leyden : and, if he had stopped book-collecting when he migrated to New England, it would have been comparatively easy to make a search among the books printed between 1617 and 1619 and see if they corresponded in their titles or descriptions with the works which we have been studying. We should then say with some confidence that such and such works came over in the *Mayflower.* The matter cannot be treated so simply ; Brewster was a scholar who in the course of a long life continued to study, and, as a consequence, continued to import books. So that we must not hastily identify the books mentioned in his will with those that came over with him in the ship. His library at his death was a large one, for a Pilgrim. Dr. H. M. Dexter, in commentary upon it,[2] says that "it was a solid one, in more senses than one. Whoever undertook,

[1] When this section was written we had not seen Mr. Bowman's article in the *Mayflower Descendant* for July, 1921, which partly covers the same ground.

[2] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2nd series, Vol. V., 1889, p. 82.

whether by land or water, to transport its forty-eight folios and one hundred and seventy-seven quartos—to say nothing of the one hundred and twenty-one of smaller size—from Plymouth to the Elder's suburban residence in Duxbury, must have found it, for wain or wherry, a heavy job."

Our first question will be as to whether the Inventory contained any Robinson books, and any books that have been mentioned in the previous pages as being possibly or probably from Brewster's press. On this point, Dr. Dexter tells us that the Inventory "contained four books by John Robinson, and eleven books printed in Leyden (1617-1619) by Mr. Brewster himself".

The four books by Robinson are as follows :—

No. 106. *Defence of the Doctrine Propounded by the Synod at Dort.* s. l. 4°, 1624.

No. 118. *Observations Divine and Moral.* s. l. 4°, 1625. (B.M. 4411. dd.)

No. 165. *A Justification of Separation.* s. l. 4°, 1610. (B.M. 4135. b.)

No. 291. *The People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophesie.* s. l. 16°, 1618.

The last of the four falls within our chronological limits; but upon investigation we find that it is not actually named in the Inventory. It is hypothecated by Dr. Dexter as one of a group described in the Inventory as

"Divers books sticht together. 0. 02. 00."

What became of this volume? Why do we say that the *People's Plea* was one of its constituents? What were the other associated tracts in the volume? The answer to these questions will be found in a letter of Dr. Dexter, quoted by Justin Winsor in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for March*, 1887, as follows :—

"In January, 1876, after much effort I succeeded in purchasing for twenty-five dollars, of the late Charles Hammond, of Monson, a small volume in a dilapidated condition, which he had picked up in some Connecticut garret, the interest of which to me consisted in the fact that, among other things, it included a perfect copy of John Robinson's *People's Plea.* It was loosely stitched together in a manner to make me think it might be the "divers books sticht together" of the Inventory, and priced two shillings. The first thing I did was to cut it apart, when I had before me seven small 16mo's, five of which were perfect. When laid side by side, I was immediately struck with their similar type, the same sized page, the same ornaments, and with that indescribable *tout ensemble* which declares the same printing-house. They were all of date 1618 and 1619, except that the seventh lacked the title, and this and the others were of the same office, as the worn and somewhat broken type showed.

"My next step was to infer, as I had always heard that the *Plea* was printed by Elder Brewster at Leyden, that they all might have been. I then set to work to see what evidence there may be that the *Plea* was really printed by Brewster. It has two large initial letters, each defective slightly in spots, and by comparing these (with a microscope) with like initials in books known to have been printed by Brewster at Leyden, I arrived at a moral certainty that all were his. Of such books I have three of which I suppose no reasonable doubt can be entertained, namely, *Commentarii succincti et Dilucidi in Proverbia Salomonis,* which has his imprint, *Lugduni Batavorum, apud Gulielmum Breuusterum, in vico chorali* 1617; Cartwright's *A Confutation of the Rhemists Translation, glosses and annotations on the New Testament* (with no imprint) 1618; and the *Perth Assembly* (no imprint) 1619. Both the latter seem

well authenticated by Sir Dudley Carleton's *Letters* (pp. 379, 380, 390). The *Proverbia* has but two large initials but the *Confutation* has twenty-six, and the *Assembly* has six—thirty-two in all—offering a fair chance of comparison. As the result of a careful study of the matter, I feel morally certain that the whole ten books were printed at the same press between 1617 and 1619 inclusive, and that that press was Brewster's."

In the *Proceedings* for 1889, which we quoted above, Dexter expresses himself as follows, when he comes to the "sticht" books in the Inventory :—

"I feel morally certain that, in 1876, I purchased of the late Charles Hammond, LL.D., of Monson, Mass., this identical 'divers books'."

There are several statements and inferences in these two communications which must be received with caution.

(i) The fact that the "divers books sticht together" are "priced two shillings" has absolutely no significance. This is simply the valuation for probate and in no way suggests that the group were "sticht together" for sale.

(ii) Dr. Dexter's figure[1] "eleven books printed . . . by Mr. Brewster himself" is arrived at by way of a very vicious circle. He himself crams his little bundle of seven into the Brewster Inventory, because on typographical grounds he suspects them to be printed by Brewster, and then calmly informs us that they are "contained" in the Inventory, with the implication that their claim to be considered genuine Brewster's is thereby strengthened!

(iii) The *Defence* (the second item in Dr. Dexter's bundle) is distinctly lacking in the "indescribable *tout ensemble*" which links the others together. We believe it to be a genuine Brewster, but the proof is just of the

[1] Dr. Dexter's "eleven" is made up from Nos. 64, 83, 186, 197, 289-295.

kind by which one is *not* "immediately struck". We suspect that Dr. Dexter would not, in 1876, have recognised it as a Brewster book, if it had been brought from elsewhere and placed beside the others.

With these cautions in mind let us, now, examine the seven books which Dexter bought from Hammond, for the modest sum of twenty-five dollars. They are as follows:—

No. 289. (L. Chaderton): *A Godly Sermon upon the* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, *and* 8 *verses of the* 12*th Chapter of Paul to the Romans.* s. l. 16°, 1618.

This is No. 15 in our list.

No. 290. *A True, Modest and Just Defence of the Petition for Reformation.* s. l. 16°, 1618.

This is No. 11 in our list. We note the significant fact that two named copies of the same book are found in the Brewster Inventory.

No. 291. J. Robinson: *The People's Plea*, etc. s. l. 16°, 1618.

This is No. 13 in our list.

No. 292. R. Harrison: *A Little Treatise upon the first verse of the* 122*nd Psalm.* s. l. 16°, 1618.

This is No. 14 in our list: but note again the significant fact that there is a named copy of the same book in Brewster's Inventory.

No. 293. T. Dighton: *Certain Reasons of a Private Christian against Conformitie to Kneeling*, etc. s. l. 16°, 1618.

This is No. 12 in our list.

No. 294. T. Dighton: *The Second Part of a Plain Discourse of an Unlettered Christian*, etc. s. l. 16°, 1619.

This is No. 17 on our list.

No. 295. W. Euring: *An Answer to the Ten Counter Demands*, etc. s. l. 16°, 1619.

This is No. 18 in our list.

It will be recognised that the foregoing volume has very great weight in the decision of problems upon which we have been engaged. And though Dr. Dexter's reasoning with regard to it may have been faulty, the soundness of his conclusion was destined to be strengthened a few years later in a striking manner. Professor Arber discovered in

Dr. Williams' Library another little volume[1] (not indeed "sticht," but bound in contemporary sheep, and with a contemporary manuscript table of contents on the end-paper) containing five out of the seven items in Dr. Dexter's bundle. The arrangement, indeed, is different, as the following comparative table shows :—

Dexter's set. Nos. 15, 11, 13, 14, 12, 17, 18.
Williams' set. Nos. 18, 13, 12, 17, 11.

But even allowing for this the coincidence is irresistible. And we can go a step farther. In the Williams' set, the last three items show the punch-holes of the original stitching, but the first two *have been bound from the sheets*, i.e. almost certainly in the printer's own workshop. This circumstantial evidence of a common place of origin, confirmed as we shall find it to be by a detailed examination of the typographical resemblances, can leave us in no doubt but that all seven are from the same press. Was that press Brewster's?

For answer it is only necessary to place one of them, viz. Euring, side by side with the acknowledged *De vera*

[1] The volume came to the Library in a large and very miscellaneous bequest from the Rev. John Archer of Hackney in 1733. Nothing is known of its previous history. Mr. Bowman is at great pains to prove that Dr. Dexter was aware of the existence of this volume, and so rob Professor Arber of the credit of discovering it. But if Dr. Dexter had seen it, it is inconceivable that when writing of his own little volume in 1889 he should have made no mention of it, and of the corroborative evidence it affords. Furthermore it is known that in the greater number of cases, where a title is credited to Dr. Williams' Library in Dexter's Bibliography, the entry is made on the authority of the printed catalogue of the library, not checked by reference to the actual book. Mr. Bowman, indeed, admits that Dexter "noted the fact that the Dr. Williams' Library owned four of the five" only, and adds "it is probable that Dexter's failure to credit the fifth to that library was accidental". Surely it is more generous to suppose that Dr. Dexter overlooked one of the five in his search through the catalogue than that he actually handled the volume, but could neither record its contents correctly nor appreciate their significance.

religione, and as Sir Dudley Carleton put it 300 years ago of the *De regimine*—"The one being confessed, the others cannot well be denied".

Our modest list of three signed and one acknowledged leaps suddenly (by the addition of these seven) to eleven all told, and this without pressing Dr. Dexter's identification of his small bundle with the "divers books sticht together," and, consequently, actually in Brewster's own library.

But we must not allow the romantic interest which surrounds this volume, and its possible association with Brewster himself, to divert our attention from the positive evidence afforded by the items actually named in the Brewster Inventory. The entries, as is usual in the case of inventories, are excessively meagre, and it is often impossible to recognise the books named with any degree of certainty.

The following is the list of those entries which may, with a reasonable degree of probability, be identified with "Brewster" books:—

[1] 40. *De Vera Ies. Chr. Religione*, 0.01.0, cf. No. 9, in our list.

It is curious that this obvious identification should have escaped Dr. Dexter, who identifies the entry with Duplessis-Mornay: *De veritate religionis Christianae.*

64. *Cartwright prouerbia*, 0.07.00, cf. No. 8.

69. *Amesii contra Grevin. Co.*, 0.00.06, cf. No. 1.

That it refers to Brewster's abridgment of *Ames* is proved by the abbreviation "Co.," i.e. "Contracta," which word does not occur in the title of the unabridged

[1] For convenience the references are given to the numbers added by Dr. Dexter in his study of the Inventory (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 2nd Ser., Vol. V); the items are not numbered in Justin Winsor's original edition of the Inventory (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 2nd Ser., Vol. III.).

work. This identification was overlooked by Dexter, who gives a reference to the complete work.

83. *Cartwright against Remica.* [*sic*], 0.08.00, cf. No. 16.

121. *Dod on Commandments*, 0.02.06,
176. *Dod on Commandments*, 0.03.00,
208. *Dod on Commandments*, 0.02.06, } cf. No. 3.

Editions of *Dod on the Commandments* are numerous, and it is impossible to *prove* that both or either of the entries represents the edition of 1617 which we have attributed to the "Brewster" press. But there is at least a strong possibility.

184. *Admonition to Parliament*, 0.01.06, cf. No. 5.

This, of course, may represent a copy of the original edition of 1593.

186. *Perth Assembly*, 0.01.06, cf. No. 19.

197. *Modest Defence*, 0.03.00,
228. *Modest Defence*, 0.00.06, } cf. No. 11.

The discrepancy in valuation between these two entries makes it hard to believe that both refer to the same book; but this may be explained by supposing that one copy was bound and the other only stitched.

220. *Treatise on 122 Psalm*, 0.00.06, cf. No. 14.

307. *A sermon*, 0.00.02, cf. No. 15.

The identification of this entry with Chaderton's sermon is little more than a guess. The valuation, 2d., undoubtedly points to a small pamphlet, and it is easy to suppose that the compilers of the Inventory, having to choose between "A fruitful sermon" on the title page and "A godly sermon" in the running headline, reduced this minimus in the way of books to a minimum description. In any case the proposed identification is at least as reasonable as Dexter's that it is "Possibly Robt.

Cushman's sermon delivered at Plymouth—which nowhere else appears, and which one would think Brewster likely to have had".

314. *Against Kneeling*, 0.00.03, cf. Nos. 12 and 17. Here again the low valuation points to a stieht copy of one or both of Dighton's pamphlets.

If we reverse these numbers we shall see more clearly the bearing of our identifications upon the results previously arrived at:—

Our List.	Short Title.	Brewster Inventory.
1	*Ames.*	69
2	*Abridgement.*	195
3	*Dod and Cleaver* (English).	121, 176, 208
5	*Admonition.*	184
8	Cartwright, *Proverbia.*	64
9	*De vera religione.*	40
11	*Defence of the Petition.*	197, 228
12	Dighton, *Certain reasons.*	314
14	*Harrison.*	220
15	*Chaderton.*	307
16	Cartwright, *Confutation.*	83
17	Dighton, *Second part.*	314
19	Calderwood, *Perth Assembly.*	186

If our identifications are correct, the Inventory specifically records, as having been in Brewster's possession at his death, no less than thirteen of the books under examination, viz.: (i) copies of the three Latin books openly printed or avowed by Brewster (Nos. 1, 8, and 9); (ii) copies of five of the seven which we have dealt with in connection with the composite volumes in Dr. Dexter's collection and in Dr. Williams' Library (Nos. 11, 12, 14, 15, 17); all these are included in the total of eleven which we then arrived at. In addition, the Inventory records (iii) copies of two of the three books ascribed by name to the press by contemporary witnesses (Nos. 16 and 19); (iv) copies of three more (Nos. 2, 3, 5) which, as a reference to the collations will show, have all of them a strong claim, on typographical grounds, to be assigned to the press.

What of the absentees?

No. 4, the Dutch *Dod and Cleaver*, Brewster would hardly trouble to carry with him to New England.

No. 6 is Travers' *Ecclesiastical Discipline*. How do we explain the fact that Brewster had no copy of this? The negative argument that Brewster cannot have printed it, because apparently he did not himself keep a copy of it, is at best a poor one, and we might permit ourselves to ignore it. We may, however, observe that such was the importance of Travers' book in contemporary ecclesiastical controversy that its absence from Brewster's library would be remarkable and in need of explanation even if it had never been assigned to Brewster's own press.

No. 7 is Johnson's *Christian Plea*. We have searched the Inventory in vain for any entry which can by any stretch of the imagination be made to fit this book. As in the case of Travers, its absence is remarkable on general grounds. But it is in need of explanation for another reason. *We know that Brewster possessed a copy.* Mr. Bowman has reproduced for us, in the *Mayflower Descendant* for January, 1920, the title-page of a copy bearing Brewster's autograph signature and his motto "Hebel est omnis Adam" upon it. A reference to the collation (p. 77) will show in detail why we do not, ourselves, accept this book as a genuine Brewster. But this does not explain its absence from the Inventory. The signature appears to us to be written in the shaky hand of old age. We may perhaps hazard a guess that Brewster wrote his name in it, not when he first acquired it, but before lending it, and that he wrote in vain. If he had made a practice of writing his name in his books many more signatures would have come to light; Mr. Bowman only knows of six.

No. 10, Calderwood's *De regimine*, is the slenderest of

all the "Brewster" books, and may easily have disappeared, even supposing that Brewster kept a copy for himself.

Nos. 13 and 18, Robinson's *People's Plea* and Euring, may have been in the "sticht" volume.

No. 20, Robinson's *Apologia*, we may be relieved not to find. So far as its absence has any evidential value it supports our contention that the *Apologia* was *not* printed by Brewster. On general grounds, however, we should expect to find a copy, whether it was printed by Brewster himself or not.

§ 3. CHRONOLOGY OF THE PRESS.

Before describing in detail the books which have been assigned to the Pilgrim Press, and examining their several claims to be reckoned authentic, it will be convenient to say something as to the order in which we have arranged them.

It will be seen that our order differs radically from that of Arber, and in a lesser degree from that of Dexter. Arber's list is in order of certainty; Dexter's is intended to be chronological; our own is an attempt at an improved chronological arrangement.

It is possible that Dexter is right in setting down the *Abridgement* as the first book to be issued from the press: but it seems more probable that the press opened business with a "signed" work.

The purchase of the type and the setting up of the press could not but be well known in Leyden. The venture, as we have seen, was a religious, not a commercial one. But the wisdom of the serpent would prompt the firm to allay suspicion by making a start with a comparatively non-contentious work such as the *Ames*.

The typographical arguments for placing the English *Dod and Cleaver* exactly where we have done (*vide* note

to collation) are by no means conclusive.[1] There is just about as strong a case for putting it as late as possible in 1617, in order to connect it up with the 1618 series of small 8vo booklets with the same "acorn" border to the title-page. We have placed the Dutch version next to it for convenience of reference, and after it because that is its position logically. But that must not be taken to imply that the Dutch version is *necessarily* the later. On the contrary it is quite certain that the translation into Dutch was *not* made from a copy of Brewster's reprint, but from one of the earlier editions printed in England. This we know because the Dutch version includes a translation of the verses at the end, which are omitted from Brewster's reprint.

In placing the Dutch *Dod and Cleaver* we need not be influenced by the fact that Brewster's name appears on it, though some bibliographers have jumped to the conclusion that the signed books all come first and that "after the production of these . . . books, Brewster omitted his name and the place of printing from the imprints of all the books produced by him".[2] This seems to us to be a misleading assumption. In our introduction we described the establishment of the Leyden Printing-house as "a religious act". It is quite out of keeping with the whole spirit of the venture to suppose that Brewster started as a general printer and only dropped later into unlicensed printing. We are convinced that the press was deliberately set up for the purpose of printing "prohibited books". The signed books were issued as a cover for the real activities of the press and it is significant that from first to last no single book in English (the language in which the prohibited books were printed) was ever issued signed.

[1] *Vide* p. 74.

[2] Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 237, followed by Bowman.

That Brewster reckoned to keep up a legitimate, side by side with his illicit trade, is evidenced by Sir Dudley Carleton in his dispatch of September 18, 1619,[1] in which he feels compelled to correct "nor printed any books fit for public sale in these provinces" to "nor printed many," etc.

We shall probably be nearer the truth if we sandwich prohibited books in amongst signed ones. All this applies only to the year 1617, after which no signed books were issued.

However that may be it seems almost certain that Dexter and Arber are wrong in placing the *Proverbia* before *Ames*. Both have presumably been misled by the date of Polyander's preface, "10 Januarii, 1617" (New Style). Arber takes this as the approximate date of *completion* of the work. He then calculates back two months for the date October, 1616, when he would have us believe the printing began, if Sir Dudley Carleton's "for the space of these three years" is to be taken as exact to a month (a quite unnecessary assumption). But while this line of argument would be fairly sound in the case of an author's own preface, it is far from conclusive in the case of a commendatory preface such as Polyander's. No one will pretend that the commendatory letter prefixed to the *Confutation*, signed by a group of puritans of the age of Elizabeth, was written after the body of the work was in type, and it is as likely as not that Polyander's preface was written, by request, and possibly even set up, when printing was at an early stage.

In each of the full years, in which the press was active, we have one work of considerable bulk, accompanied by a number of small pamphlets. It may well be that Brewster deliberately arranged to have a bulky and

[1] Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

comparatively non-contentious work always on the stocks, should any questions be asked. From the time that Polyander wrote his preface till the book appeared, that would be the work on which the press would be officially engaged.

It is suggested, therefore, that the *Proverbia* be placed last among the productions of 1617, and the *Confutation* last in 1618.

For the rest, an attempt has been made to arrange in strict chronological order the five small octavo books with the "acorn" design border to the title-page.[1] Apart from these the order of the smaller books in each year must be mainly guess-work.

Only four books dated 1619 have been ascribed to Brewster, and of these we reject one, the *Apologia*. With regard to the rest, it is generally, and we think rightly, assumed that if Brewster printed the *Perth Assembly* at all, it was the latest work to issue from the press. But on the whole question of the books of 1619 we shall have more to say later.[2]

§ 4. TYPOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE.

We now come to the evidence afforded by a typographical examination of the books themselves. This evidence will be found set out in the appendix. The results it will be convenient to state here.

Our task must be to reconstruct Brewster's stock-in-trade. The printing-house was in a garret, and the stock presumably a small one. If we find a certain range of types and ornaments recurring, without variation, in the books known to have been printed by Brewster, we shall be on the safe side if we look for the same range in the books attributed to but not acknowledged by Brewster and incline to reject any which show a wider range.

[1] *Vide* Collation No. 7, note. [2] See below, page 53.

We naturally start with the three books bearing Brewster's name. The material afforded by these is useful so far as it goes, but limited owing to the fact that all three are from the first year of the press's activity. One of them, the Dutch book, is printed in Gothic letter of a type quite common in Dutch books of the period, which, if Brewster actually printed the book at all, was probably hired or borrowed for the occasion, and which is not found in any other books attributed to Brewster.

The corner-stone of reconstruction we shall find to be the acknowledged *De vera religione*, dated 1618. A comparison of this with the *Confutation* will be found to clinch the argument for the genuineness of the latter. And it is safe to argue that the founts which were adequate to the production of this monumental work, were adequate to the production of any books in English or Latin which Brewster was likely to undertake.

When we come to examine the types and ornaments in detail we shall find ourselves compelled to admit that probably every single ornament, initial, and fount used in the "Brewster" books may be found in the work of other contemporary presses. We shall see that the examples from other presses cover Great Britain, Holland, and Germany. All we shall be able to say is that there are no French types amongst them, and consequently no evidence *against* the books having been printed in Holland.

Even the apparent evidence of authenticated flaws is to be treated with extreme caution. It is practically certain (and in this matter we are happy to have the valuable support of Mr. McKerrow) that the bulk of the initials and even the larger ornaments of the kind found in the "Brewster" books are not woodcuts, but are cast metal blocks. The majority of the flaws, such as the

break in the "bear" and in the stem of the initial "T" are due to a particle of grit or metal lodging in one of the lines of the matrix, and could appear in any number of blocks cast therefrom.

The bearing of all this upon our task is obvious. Starting with a small range of "stock" types, the negative weight of a strange type or ornament in a book which at a first glance appears to reveal "Brewster" characteristics, will be greater than the positive weight of a known "Brewster" type or ornament, if found in conjunction with types or ornaments not known to have been used by Brewster.

We must, in other words, demand from every claimant not isolated Brewster types and ornaments, but Brewster *combinations* of types and ornaments.

Here, perhaps, lies the strength of Dr. Usher's challenge. Its weakness becomes apparent when we find how bravely the great majority of the "Brewster" books stand the test.

Taking the evidence point by point there is nothing we can lay our finger upon and say: There you have a Brewster book. And yet, after admitting all this, we shall find the cumulative evidence of matter, date, ornaments, initials, and types occurring again and again *together* so strong as to lead us, if not to absolute proof, at any rate to a very high degree of probability.

For illustration of these various points reference may be made especially to the notes on the two latest claimants, viz. Johnson's *Plea* and the English *Dod and Cleaver*. The former we reject, because the apparent "Brewster" characteristics are either in reality different, or where identical are "stock" types, and because of the heavy negative weight afforded by the presence of non-Brewster founts. The *Dod and Cleaver* we put forward for accepta-

tion because it shows the regular Brewster *tout ensemble*, without any strange types or ornaments.[1]

§ 5. CONCLUSIONS.

What, then, is the result of our examination? We started out with three signed works, *Ames*, *Proverbia* and *Dod* and one acknowledged, *De vera religione*. Of the remaining sixteen all satisfy our requirement as to subject matter; all except the undated *Chaderton* as to date; nine (including *Chaderton*) as to type.

With the help mainly of *De vera religione* we shall arrive at something approaching very near to absolute proof in the case of the *Confutation*, which introduces us to the 66 mm. small-faced roman type and to a number of initials, including the broken "I". If we accept the *Confutation*, then three more items, *Abridgement*, *Travers*, and *Perth Assembly* will be able to qualify as to founts employed. Only two of the whole sixteen, viz. *Apologia* and *Johnson* will be definitely thrown out in this preliminary test. The full reason for their rejection we have given in the notes appended to the collations.

With regard to the remaining thirteen there must be degrees of certainty. The cumulative force of the arguments in favour of the *Confutation* appears to us irresistible. Little less certain is *Euring*. If Brewster printed any books at all with the date 1619, *Euring* is one of them.

[1] If Mr. Bowman declines to subscribe to this self-denying ordinance, and to limit himself to the range of types and ornaments contained in the acknowledged books and the *Confutation;* if, that is to say, he still clings to the *Apologia* and the *Christian Plea*, we can only wonder at the modest dimensions of his list. It is not really our business to supplement his list, but, by way of a send-off, we shall be pleased to make him a present of Ainsworth's *Communion of Saints*. Sm. 8vo. Reprinted 1618. (B.M. 4409, b. 53), which has as good a claim, typographically, to be included as they have.

A comparison of the pages from *Euring* and *De vera religione*, which we have placed opposite each other, carries conviction; yet, to make practical certainty more certain, *Euring* contains both a broken "bear" and a broken "I". And if *Euring* is genuine it carries in its wake the remaining four "acorn"-bordered title-pages, two of which have a confirmatory broken "bear". The *Admonition* and *Travers* are linked to one another and to the *Confutation* by identity of founts employed and by the presence of the broken "I". The *De regimine* is only less surely linked to the *De vera religione* in that it is intentionally free from incriminating ornaments and initials, and contains no example of a distinctive flaw. Of the rest the *Abridgement* and *Defence* hang definitely together in general arrangement, and in minor detail attach themselves to those of the series with which each is contemporary.

Chaderton must remain an open question till a perfect copy is forthcoming; but it is more probable than not that Dr. Dexter is right in assigning it to the Brewster press.

This leaves us with the *Perth Assembly*. We shall set out the evidence, external and internal, as fully and impartially as possible. Bibliographers must give their own verdicts.

In connection with the *Perth Assembly* something must be said generally of the three books ascribed to the press during 1619.

When we come to the year 1619 we are confronted with an entirely new problem. We have no signed or acknowledged work dated in this year, and we have Brewer's definite statement before the Leyden Council that "in consequence of the publication of the Placaat in relation to the printing of books [November, 1618] he

had stopped the printing office".[1] How, if at all, are we to reconcile this statement on the part of an honourable gentleman, such as we know Brewer to have been, with an ascription to the Brewster press of the three books, *Dighton* (Part II), *Euring*, and *Perth Assembly*, all dated 1619?

It is quite certain that they are printed from the same types as the Brewster books of 1618. But it is almost certain that a number of these types eventually passed into the hands of other printers.

The resemblances between *Dighton* (Part I), *Dighton* (Part II), and *Euring* (especially as shown in the development of the title-page border) are greater than could be expected in a case of imitation by another printer using his own types, but are such as one might reasonably look for if a fresh printer were carrying on the work of a predecessor with the same types. The case of the *Perth Assembly* is different. Here the evidence points, as we shall see in detail when we come to the collations, to the work of a new compositor using the old Brewster types, but not imitating the Brewster manner. In neither case is it possible to prove from the books themselves that the transfer of types did not take place at the end of 1618, before any of the books of 1619 were printed.

On the other hand, we must remember that in August, 1619, there was still a sufficient amount of "printing letters" "books and papers" in the garret in *Choir Alley* to justify the authorities in considering that they had caught the press.

The evidence of Sir Dudley Carleton's dispatches as to the activity of the press in this year has only an apparent value. It is not based upon an examination of

[1] Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

witnesses or even upon a comparison of the books of 1619 with the confiscated types. It is not external evidence at all, but simply second-hand internal evidence, based upon an examination of the books themselves; evidence which we are able to check and show to be inconclusive.

Can we reconcile this conflicting and indecisive evidence?

In the first place, we are at liberty to push the two small octavos back to the very beginning of 1619; they may even have been finished by the end of 1618 and post-dated (an offence unfortunately no more unheard of in those days than in our own). From this time onwards the press would occupy itself with some unexceptionable *magnum opus* which would provide a non-incriminating "bag" in case of a raid on the score of past offences. Meanwhile the more incriminating initials and ornaments would gradually leak away, with increasing rapidity when the hue and cry after Brewster began. What then of the *Perth Assembly?*

When we come to examine that work in detail, we shall suggest, as a possibility, that the firm lent their press for the occasion to some other workman.

In this way we may account for all three 1619 books, without impeaching Brewer's reputation for veracity.

We do not pretend to have arrived at absolute certainty, except perhaps in the case of the *Confutation.* But we are ourselves of opinion that all the books we have examined, except the *Apologia* and Johnson's *Christian Plea*, may unquestionably be assigned to the Brewster press, until some work is forthcoming, known to be from another press or being outside the known time limits of the press's activity, in which are to be found not merely isolated Brewster types and ornaments, but which bears

as great a general resemblance to the books under review as they bear to one another.[1]

We have discovered only one "Pilgrim Press" book; but we have, it is hoped, set forth with sufficient fullness the evidence by means of which new claimants must be tested. We invite bibliographers to renew the search which Dr. Dexter inaugurated, and to make known any discoveries.

Nor have we attempted a census of copies; reference has been made to such copies only as we have ourselves examined for the purpose of this study. A preliminary list of copies is to be found in the bibliographical appendix to Dexter's *Congregationalism*, and we gather that Mr. Bowman is compiling a revised census.

§ 6. EPILOGUE.

In our prologue we make a suggestion as to the possible ultimate fate of the actual press used by Brewster. By way of epilogue we may fitly follow up a few clues, which have cropped up in the course of our main study, as to the ultimate fate of the types. Incidentally we may be able to throw some light upon the question of who printed the various sequels to the "Pilgrim Press" books, such as Calderwood's *Parasynagma Perthense*, a Latin version of the *Perth Assembly* (1620); the same writer's *Altar of Damascus* (1621); or Robinson's *Just Apology* (1625). With regard to this last we must begin by considering a suggestion lately made by Mr. Burgess.[2]

[1] We throw down this direct challenge to those Dutch bibliographers who to-day doubt the possibility of typographical proof.

[2] *John Robinson* (1920), p. 298. Mr. Morton Dexter, in *England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, p. 591, goes one better and makes the gratuitous and unsupported assertion that: "In 1625, one of his last labors, he [John Robinson] saw through the press at Leyden his 'Observations Divine and Morall'".

"It is printed," he writes, "in good, clear type, similar to that used by Brewer and Brewster in earlier days. My own conjecture is that Brewer had recovered possession of the type impounded in the University of Leyden . . . and now, in conjunction with the members of his congregation, procured the publication of this work as a pious duty, immediately after Robinson's death."

Does Mr. Burgess suggest that the members of the Leyden congregation set-up and printed-off the work with their own hands; or that, as an act of piety, they requested the printer whom they employed to use the Brewster types? The latter suggestion seems somewhat fantastic, and the former scarcely tenable. Brewer was himself no craftsman, and with Brewster and Winslow in New England, and Reynolds in Amsterdam such a pious, *ad hoc* resuscitation of the press is almost incredible. Nor is Mr. Burgess right in thinking that it is called for on typographical grounds. It is true, indeed, that the *Just and necessarie Apologie* (and also the *Observations*) contains certain "Brewster" initials and ornaments which have not been found in any of Robinson's pre-Brewster books. But they furnish many more resemblances to, than differences from, these same pre-Brewster books. A notable instance of this is afforded by a set of initial letters (the *Observations* contains examples of no less than sixteen letters from this particular alphabet) which is found in no single book which has ever been ascribed to Brewster, but which appears frequently in pre-Brewster books by Robinson, and also in books bearing the imprint of Giles Thorp in Amsterdam!

But a preponderance of "Thorp" initials does not explain away the "Brewster" initials and ornaments which undoubtedly occur. Equally striking is the appearance

of so large a number, as noted in the appendix, of Brewster initials with recognizable flaws, in books printed by Raban.

We have seen that the search in Brewer's garret yielded, if we may go by the negative evidence of the reports, nothing incriminating. It is not unreasonable to suppose that as soon as ever the firm got wind of Sir Dudley Carlton's suspicions, the distinctive initials and ornaments were distributed between Reynolds and the bird of passage, Raban; that the former slipped away to Amsterdam and joined himself to Thorp, bringing with him not only some of the "characters," but the patronage of the Leyden community; that Raban, loaded up with other of the initials and ornaments, supplemented by a further stock purchased from the same type-founder, and bearing with him also the manuscript of the *Parasynagma Perthense*, which the Leyden firm dared no longer handle, made his way to Scotland. Probably either he or Thorp printed *The Altar of Damascus* in 1621.

These two paragraphs were already in type before we were made aware that Raban's connection with the "Pilgrim Press" had already been suggested by Mr. Gordon Duff in a paper read before the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society in 1912, but not published. Mr. Duff has recently repeated the suggestion in a paper on *The Early Career of Edward Raban* read before the Bibliographical Society, December 19, 1921, and printed in the Society's *Transactions* for March, 1922. We leave our own suggestion as it stands; it was arrived at independently, and any weight it may carry is additional to Mr. Duff's argument. At the same time we must confess that we do not feel that Mr. Duff's investigations and line of reasoning strengthen the case for Raban's connection with Brewster. Mr. Duff, speaking of two

books which have been ascribed to Raban, one of them being the *Paraspnagma Perthense*, remarks: "It would be, however, a strange thing for the 'Printer to the University' to issue two books by authors especially obnoxious to the 'Ruling Powers'". But just before he says: "With the closing of the [Pilgrim Press] printing office, Raban, supposing him to have been an assistant, would have found himself out of work. The people with whom he had been associated had become unpopular and had mostly migrated to America. The hue and cry after the Brownists and all connected with them made England an undesirable place of refuge. There remained Scotland where Calderwood was popular, and it was perhaps through his advice, for he was at the time himself a refugee in Holland, that Raban started to seek his fortune in Scotland as a printer." It seems to us illogical to suggest, almost with the same breath, that Raban may have been associated with Brewster and acquainted with Calderwood, but that he was hardly the man to print an "obnoxious" book! This difficulty disappears if we think of Raban as a soldier of fortune and free lance who *finally settled down*, after a wandering and adventurous career, as a respectable University Printer. And surely no one wishes to suggest that the *Paraspnagma Perthense* issued from the University Press at St. Andrews. If printed by him at all, it was the work not of Raban the "Printer to the University," but of Raban the printer of Archibald Simson's *Christes Testament* (1620), dwelling in Edinburgh "at the Cowgate Port, at the sign of A.B.C." (cf. B.M. C. 37, b. 20). If we accept the *Paraspnagma* as Raban's, then all Mr. Duff's "theorizing" about Brewster and Calderwood does indeed appear "plausible and probable" as Mr. Duff puts it. But if we reject the *Paraspnagma*, then the theorizing falls to the

ground, and we are thrown back upon the "fact" of the typographical resemblances between Brewster's work and Raban's.

On these, in our opinion, Mr. Duff lays too much stress. It is quite true that "some of the initials of both are marked by the same blemishes". But we are not convinced that any of these blemishes are unquestionably peculiar to a particular block, and not due to blemishes in the matrices from which both Raban's and Brewster's blocks may have been cast.

One thing, however, is certain. The "Brewster" initials and ornaments which Raban uses are quite common, as we shall see, in Holland at this time, but they are *not* common in the British Isles. It is practically certain that Raban landed in Scotland direct from Holland, and brought his initials and ornaments with him. But here, over against the theory that Raban may have served as an assistant to Brewster, we have the *fact* that he served in Leyden under a printer who was certainly not Brewster. We are indebted to Mr. Duff for the following reference to Raban's own "Resolution against Drunkenness," where, in the section relating to Sabbath-breakers, he gives the following instance:—

"Yea, a master whom I served in mine owne science in the fair city of Leyden had it aye for a custom to boil his printing varnish on the Sabbath days in a garden house without the city; till at last his house took fire, and burnt the house, himself, and his only daughter. He being a rich man died thus miserable leaving none issue to inherit his trash."

It may well be that it was some of this gentleman's initials and ornaments that Raban "inherited".

Mr. Duff appeals for a comparison of the "method of using signatures, catch-words, numerals, and such

minutiæ . . . for once a printer has acquired small habits he generally quite unthinkingly and unintentionally continues them. On the other hand, a man who had been merely an assistant and obliged to follow the methods of his master, might follow out his own ideas on becoming his own master." Such evidence is, we believe, forthcoming, as we shall see when we come to examine the *Perth Assembly*, but it is perhaps not quite of the kind Mr. Duff is thinking of. If Raban worked in Choir Alley at all it was probably only for a few weeks between the death of the unlucky Sabbath-breaker and the break-up of the "Pilgrim Press". We can trace the hand of the new-comer in the *Perth Assembly*, but the connection would not be long enough for Raban to influence or be influenced by the general characteristics of Brewster's work.

When all has been said the suggestion of Raban's connection with the "Pilgrim Press" undoubtedly remains an attractive one, but, until some corroborative evidence is forthcoming such as the discovery of his name in Leyden documents relating to the "Pilgrim" community, we must consider it as not proven.

APPENDIX I.

TYPES AND ORNAMENTS.

§ 1. ORNAMENTS.

(1) (See fig. 21). We start our survey with the "bear" tail-piece, not because it is the most significant, but because it is the most striking of the "Pilgrim Press" ornaments. It is the nearest approach we have to a device. That Brewster himself regarded it as something more than a simple ornament is suggested by the fact that it is found on the last page of some copies of *Ames*, which in other copies is blank. We must suppose that the ornament was not a part of the original stock, but was purchased in time for the device to be impressed on the later copies. Perhaps Brewster selected it from amongst the type-founder's stock on account of the resemblance between the names "Brewer," "Brewster," and "Bruin" (the bear in *Reynard the Fox*).

But it must not be imagined that the device was specially designed and cut for Brewster. It is part only of a much larger woodcut, an example of which is to be found as early as 1587 in an edition of Holinshed printed in London by Denham; and again in editions of North's *Plutarch* printed by Field in 1603 and 1612. The complete design may be reconstructed from fig. 21 by washing out the central rosette in the upper portion and inserting the bear in the centre, so that one set of snakes is superimposed upon and cancels the other, and the men and dogs flank the bear on either side. The bear himself is quite common in Dutch books of the period, e.g. in

books bearing the imprint of N. van Ravestyn in Amsterdam, Strickius in Utrecht, Johann Sas in Groningen (who also uses initials of the series 5-17 below), and plenty of others. He is also used a few years later by Raban in Aberdeen. Lastly, he is found in Robinson's *Observations*, 1625. It is clear, then, that his presence in the books under consideration can by no means be taken as conclusive evidence of genuineness, unless we can discover some breakage or other distinguishing peculiarity of the particular blocks used. If this proviso were not necessary our task would be considerably lightened; for in one form or another the bear appears in no less than ten of the books we are to examine. He is found in two forms, firstly as shown in the lower half of fig. 21, secondly, without the serpents and with less foliage, as on title-page of *De vera religione*.[1] The wider form has no distinguishing marks, and can only be used as subsidiary evidence. We know that Brewster had this ornament, because it is found in *Proverbia;* its presence in other books attributed to him has a cumulative value, but is not conclusive. The same is true of the smaller bear as it appears in *Ames*, and the *Abridgement*, both printed in 1617. In the following year, however, it appears in the acknowledged *De vera religione* with a break close to the extremity of the lower left-hand spray of foliage. This break is not found in the examples quoted from other presses, except that in Robinson's *Observations*, of which more hereafter. We are tempted to consider as genuine any book printed during the "Pilgrim Press" period, which contains an example of the bear with this break.

But even this test is denied us. Unfortunately for us, a bear with the same break adorns the title-page of H. Ainsworth's *Communion of Saincts* (1618). This book

[1] Fig. 9.

is issued without any printer's name, but (quite apart from the fact that the relations between Ainsworth's flock at Amsterdam and Robinson's at Leyden were not such as would make it likely that the former's work should be sent to Leyden to be printed by Brewster) there are too many strange founts, initials and ornaments for us to have any excuse for treating it as a "Pilgrim Press" book. This flaw too must be pushed back to a matrix.

In the collations 1*a* signifies the smaller bear without the break; 1*b* the same with the break; 1*c* the larger bear; 1*d* the same with the hunters and dogs.

(2) (See fig. 3). The next ornament to be examined is not a single block but is made up from a number of small types; we shall call it the "acorn" ornament, from the easily recognizable four square arrangement of the small type resembling an acorn. These are used in the same or a similar formation in every one of the books which we accept, omitting the *Perth Assembly* and the Dutch book. The types themselves are not peculiar to "Brewster" books, they are found arranged in a very similar way in 1618 as far afield as Giessen in books printed by Caspar Chemlin. We shall be able to trace the development of this ornament from a simple head-line to an elaborate and carefully balanced border, but preserving the same general characteristics throughout.

(3) (See fig. 22). This also is a "stock" ornament. Two cuttings of it are found in the "Brewster" books, (*a*) in *Proverbia*, and (*b*) in *Admonition* and *Perth Assembly*. What is apparently the actual *Proverbia* block is used in Robinson's *Observations* (1625). A third cutting of the same design is used by Stam in Amsterdam in 1635. The block may be useful as helping to show that *Admonition* and *Perth Assembly* are from the same press, but not that either was printed by Brewster.

(4) (See figs. 23, 24). This is found in the acknowledged *De vera religione*, and in *Euring*.

(5) (See fig. 25). Found only in *Confutation*, and probably borrowed for the occasion. It is also found in the editions of North's *Plutarch* noted above.

(6) (See fig. 26). This very common made-up ornament is used in four of the books. Very sharp impressions in *Proverbia* and *Confutation* and very blurred in *Abridgement* and *Perth Assembly;* either due to heavier inking or more worn types.

(7 and 8) (See fig. 27). These rolls are found only in *Ames*.

(9) (See fig. 28). This ornament also is found only in *Ames*.

(10) (See fig. 29). The types from which this ornament is made up are only found in *Ames*.

(11) (See fig. 10). This small ornamental type is used to make up the lower-part ornament on the title-page of *De regimine*. It is also used elsewhere to form a simple line-ornament for section headings, etc.

(12) (See fig. 30). This tail-piece is found only in the Dutch *Dod and Cleaver*. The design is an extremely common one; Schilders uses it; Hart adopted it as his device. But both these use a different cutting from the one we have here. An identical block is used on the title-page of the *Parasynagma*. Its importance as a link in the Brewster-Raban chain depends upon whether or no we accept the two books in question as actually printed by Brewster and Raban respectively.

(13) (See fig. 4). This device also is only found in the Dutch *Dod and Cleaver*. Dutch bibliographers should be able to give us its history, and in so doing, would probably help to solve the question who actually set up and printed the book in which it appears.

§ 2. INITIALS.

(1) (See fig. 31). This very poor initial appears only in *Ames*, which on general grounds we have placed first in probable order of publication. It was evidently discarded as soon as the press acquired No. 8 along with the set of 23 mm. initials which we shall find to be common throughout the series.

(2) (See fig. 26). This initial appears only in the *Proverbia*. It is curious that there is no other example of this or of any other initial P in the series. Nor are there any other initials in the least resembling it in general design.

(3) (See fig. 32). Found only in the *Confutation*. It is quite likely that it and the flanking portions of the "bear," and the "archer and hare" ornament were only borrowed for the *magnum opus*. (Cf. No. 19.)

(4) (See fig. 25). We have examples of this initial in one book in each year of the press's activity. This is the only case in which an "odd" initial persists and is used concurrently with a corresponding initial from the set (5-18). In two out of the three books in which it occurs No. 16 is also found.

(5-18) (See fig. 33). There is a general family resemblance between all these initials, which justifies us in considering them as belonging to the same alphabet. But it is probable that they were not all purchased together. Out of the fourteen only nine appear in 1617; four more are found in 1618; and one appears for the first time in 1619. This last is probably mere chance, but there is reason to suppose that some at least of the five which do not appear before 1618, were purchased in that year to help with the printing of the *Confutation*. It is noticeable that the *Defence* has a "made-up" M, with a frame constructed from portions of ornament No. 2, whereas

Harrison, printed probably later in the same year, contains an "M" belonging to the set.

Initials from this set are common in Dutch books, according to Sayle,[1] from 1607 onwards. Raban also uses them freely.

The reference numbers which follow are to the books in which examples are to be found.

(5) "A." In each case with break near heel of left limb and in toe of right limb. Used also by Caninus in Dordrecht, 1620, but without break. *Examples:* 5, 16, 17.

(6) "C." A block which it is impossible to distinguish from this is used by Raban in 1623 and 1631, and is found in Calderwood's *Parasynagma Perthense* (1620), which has been attributed to Raban. *Example:* 5.

(7) "D." Raban in 1621 uses what is apparently a different casting from the same matrix. *Example:* 4.

(8) "F." The same design is used by Raban, but with a flaw which does not appear in the "Brewster" books. *Examples:* 3, 13, 16, 19.

(9) "H." Raban in 1623 uses a different casting of this same design. *Examples:* 3, 16, 17.

(10) "I." This initial is exceedingly common, not only in "Brewster" books, but in books from other contemporary presses. Raban uses it; Aegid. Romanus in Utrecht uses it; it is found in Robinson's *Observations*. But all the "Brewster" examples, *except the ones in the Apologia and the English Dod and Cleaver*, show the right-hand top corner broken away. This breakage is also found in Robinson's *Observations*, but not in examples noted from other presses. *Examples:* 3, 5, 6, 10, 16, 18, 19.

(11) "M." What appears to be an identical block is found in Robinson's *Observations*. Raban has a block, which is easily recognizable as a different casting; so has Johann Sas. (cf. break at right-hand bottom corner of "M"). *Example:* 14.

(12) "O." This and No. 16 are the only initials from this set which are found in the signed books, and this the only case in which one of these initials forms a link between a signed and unsigned book. *Examples:* 1, 16.

(13) "Q." Raban has a block which cannot be distinguished from this. So has Johann Sas. *Example:* 10.

(14) "R." This initial, with the same flaw, is used by Raban. *Examples:* 14, 18.

(15) "S." A different casting of the same design is used by Raban. What is apparently the same block is used in Robinson's *Observations*. Brewster in every case uses it wrong side up. *Examples:* 3, 5, 16.

(16) "T." A number of examples of this very common initial are given by Sayle, dating from 1607 onwards. The break on each side of the stem appears in all the "Brewster" examples; is also found in Robinson's *Defence* (1624)

[1] Sayle: *Univ. Lib. Camb. Early Eng. Books*, No. 6634*n*.

Observations (1625), and in books printed by Raban. *Examples:* 2, 3, 5, 7, 12, 13, 16, 19.

(17) "V." See note on No. 11 above. A block which cannot be distinguished from this is used, a few years later, by Johann Sas. *Examples:* 8, 9.

(18) "W." What appears to be an identical block is used in Robinson's single-sheet *Appeale* (1624). *Examples:* 3, 5, 16.

(19) (See fig. 34). This initial is found only in the Dutch *Dod and Cleaver*. It is of the same series as No. 3.

§ 3. TYPES.

The unit of measurement is twenty lines.

The firm appears to have started business with three complete founts (i.e. containing both roman and italic), one fount of italic only, one of Greek, one of Hebrew, and a fair stock of larger upper-case types for title-pages, etc. With these founts the *Ames* and *Proverbia* were printed.

(1) 66 mm. (*a*) *roman.* (See fig. 31.) This is the type used for the body of the work in *Ames* and *Abridgement*, and for the commentary in *Proverbia*. In face it is exactly similar to (6*b*), but the uniform difference of measurement makes it impossible that they are the same casting. This fount disappears entirely after the year 1617. It has no "w" or "k"; the former is supplied sometimes by "vv," sometimes by a "w" from another fount; the latter by an easily recognizable "k" of which the lower right-hand limb is curved and has no heel.

(*b*) *italic.* (See fig. 31.) This is much smaller faced than the roman, and really matches (7), with which it is regularly used later. It is also used for marginal notes throughout the series.

(2) 82 mm. (*a*) *roman.* (See fig. 36.) Found in *Ames*, "Lectori," ad fin., and in the separate verse quotations in *Confutation*.

(*b*) *italic.* Found in *Admonition*, p. 32.

(3) 118 mm. *roman and italic.* (See figs. 27, 22.) The roman has not been found alone except in the mottoes in *Ames*. The italic is used for preface to *Proverbia*, "Publisher to Reader" in *Confutation*, chapter headings, title-pages, etc. It is this beautiful type which is found also in Robinson's *Observations* (1625), and probably prompted Mr. Burgess's suggestion.[1]

(4) 90 mm. *italic.* (See figs. 26, 27.) Used for text in *Proverbia*, and Index to *Ames*.

(5) *Greek and Hebrew.* (See fig. 36.) There are no passages of Greek or Hebrew long enough to make measurement possible. Except for a few words of Greek of a larger type (probably borrowed) in the preface to *Proverbia*, only one fount of each is found, and used only with 66-70 mm.

[1] *Vide* p. 57.

founts. The Greek has a face rather smaller than the small faced 66 mm. and the Hebrew rather larger.

The *De vera religione* (the fourth and last of the certain Brewster books) introduces us to another complete fount, of which, however, the roman and italic were probably acquired separately.

(6) 70 mm. (*a*) *italic.* (See fig. 23.) It would appear that Brewster, at a very early date, felt dissatisfied with the difference in face of his 66 mm. roman and italic. He therefore purchased a new italic fount of similar face to the 66 mm. roman, which new fount is first found in the *Abridgement.* Unfortunately this new type was cast on a 70 mm. body. This necessitated the further purchase of:—

(*b*) *roman.* (See fig. 23.) For a description of this type see above (1*b*), which it probably did not so much supplant as assimilate. It would be quite possible to work the old 66 mm. in with it, though the presence of type from the batch on the slightly taller body would make it impossible to bring the mixture down to the old measurement.

There only remain two more founts, found in the *Confutation*, to complete our inventory of roman and italic.

(7) 66 mm. *roman.* (See fig. 36.) This fount was probably purchased at the same time as the 70 mm. italic, in order to pair off with the unsatisfactory small-faced 66 mm. italic. It is easily distinguishable from (1*a*). In fact, it is hard to believe, on a first inspection, that they measure the same. The face of the type is distinctly smaller, the heads and tails proportionately longer. It is used for the commentary in the *Confutation*, and for the body of the work in the *Admonition* and *Travers*.

(8) 95 mm. *roman and italic.* (See fig. 32.) This fount, besides being used for the Latin and English versions of the letter prefixed to the *Confutation*, is the regular type for prefaces to works printed during 1618 and 1619. It is also used for the whole of the small *De regimine*, and for the large type in *Perth Assembly*. The italic is very similar to (4), but in addition to the slight difference of measurement, the ligatures are easily distinguishable.

It is not suggested that all or any of these types are peculiar to the Pilgrim Press. It would be easy, but wasted labour, to show that they are as common as the initials and ornaments.

We now come to the Gothic founts used in the Dutch *Dod and Cleaver.* We do not propose to do more here than formally put their existence on record, and shall

defer examination of them till we come to examine the only book in which they occur. (See figs. 34, 35.)

§ 4. WATERMARKS.

The study of these is disappointing. But this need not disconcert us. It is evident from an examination of the *Confutation*, in which single work at least six distinct watermarks occur, that Brewster only bought his paper in small quantities. In many of the books no recognisable watermarks are found; those that are found do not appear in more than one book. The *Confutation* watermarks, for example, include several jugs; jugs are also found in the *Defence* and *Perth Assembly*. But though similar they are in no case identical.

APPENDIX II.

COLLATIONS.

Type-page measurements are exclusive of head-lines, catch-words, and marginal notes.

1.

GVIL. AMESII | *ad Reſponſum* | *NIC. GREVINCHOVII* | RESCRIPTIO | CONTRACTA. | *Accedunt ejuſdem aſſertiones* | *Theologicæ de Lumine* | *Naturæ* & *Gra-* | *tiæ.* | [ornament] | Proſtant | LVGDVNI BATAVORVM, | *Apud Guiljelmum Brewſterum* | In Vico Chorali. | 1617.

Sm. 8°, pp. [16] + 209 + [15]. Sig. (:), A-O.

Contents.—p. [1] title; [3-13] "Lectori"; [14] mottoes; [15-16] Index capitum; 1-204, the work; 204, "Errata"; 205-208, "Lectori"; 209, "Whitakerus, ex sententia Lutheri," etc.; [1-9] "Amesii assertationes theol."; [10-14] "Paradoxa quædam"; [15] "Bear" device in Bodl. copy; blank in B.M. copy.

Ornaments, 1*a*, 2, 7, 8, 9. *Initials*, 1, 12. *Types*, 1, 2*a*, 3, 4.

Type-page, $3\frac{3}{4} \times 2$ in. *Brewster Inv.*, 69.

B.M. 4255. aa. 9; Bodl. 8° H. 26. Th. BS.

Note.—This is an abridgment, whether by Ames himself or not it is impossible to say, of a larger work published in 1615, with title: "Guilielmi Amesii rescriptio scholastica & brevis. Ad Nicolai Grevinchovii responsum illud prolixum, quod opposuit dissertationi, de redemptione generali," etc., "Amstelodami, Apud Henricum Laurentium".

2.

AN | ABRIDGEMENT | OF THAT BOOKE WHICH | *THE MINISTERS OF LIN-* | COLNE DIOCESSE DE- | liuered to his Maieſtie vpon the | firſt of December 1605. | BEING THE FIRST PART OF | *AN APOLOGIE FOR THEM-* | SELVES AND THEIR BRE- | THREN THAT REFVSE THE | Subſcription

and Conformitie | which is required. | WHEREVNTO IS ANNEXED, | *A Table of fundry Poynts not handled in this A-* | bridgement, which are other exceptions they take to | the Subfcription required, and fhall be the Ar- | gument of the fecond part of their | *APOLOGIE* | [John 7. 51 ; Ezech. 11. 15 ; Gal. 6. 12.] Reprinted, *Anno Dom.* 1617.

Sm. 8°, pp. [16] + 102 + [2]. Sig. A-G_8, H_4.

Contents.—p. [1-2] blank; [3] title; [5-12] The Table; [13-16] Contents; 1-88, the work; 89-102, "a short table of sundry other exceptions," etc.; [1-2] blank.

Ornaments, 1*a*, 2. *Initials*, 16. *Types*, 1.

Type-page, 5 × 2½ in. *Brewster Inv.*, 195.

B.M. 851. f. 17.

Note.—The above is not mentioned by Arber, to whom it was apparently unknown. It is certainly the kind of book we know Brewster to have been printing; the bear ornament is indistinguishable from the impression found in *Ames*, which is good evidence as far as it goes, though (the "bear" being a "stock" ornament), not so good as the evidence of the broken bear in the succeeding years. No founts are used beyond those found in *Ames* and *Proverbia*. It cannot be pretended that the evidence is conclusive, but cumulatively it is undoubtedly very strong indeed, especially when we consider it in connection with the *Defence* (No. 11, below).

3.

A | PLAINE AND | *FAMILIAR EXPOSI-* | TION OF THE TENNE | COMMANDEMENTS. | WITH A METHODICALL | fhort Catechifme, containing briefly all the | principall grounds of Chriftian | RELIGION. | According to the laft corrected and inlarged Copie | by the Authour, M^R. IOHN DOD. | To which is now prefixed three pro- | fitable Tables | [Psalm 119. 30.] | [bear device.] | *Printed Anno Dom.* 1617.

4°, pp. [16] + "284" [actually 280] + [12]. Sig. A, a, B-Z, Aa-Kk_4, Ll_2, Ll_4, Mm_2.

Contents.—p. [1] title, with acorn border; [3-5] "Epistle dedicatorie," addressed to Sir Anthony Cope; [6-7] "Doctrines dispersed in this book gathered together"; [8-13] "A table of the principall things contained in this exposition"; [13] errata; [14-16] "The places of Scripture opened and applied in this exposition"; 1-280, the work; [1-11] The Catechisme.

Ornaments, 1*b*, 1*c*, 2, 3, 6, 11. *Initials*, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 18. *Types*, 1*a* & *b*, 3, 6*a*.

Type-page, 6¼ × 4 in. *Brewster Inv.*, 121, 176.

B.M. 3506. ee. 15.

Note.—So far as we are aware this book has not previously been assigned to the Pilgrim Press. The evidence in its favour is exceptionally strong. We know Brewster to have been interested in the work from his publication in this same year of the translation of it into Dutch. It was on this ground that the book was first sought by us on the British Museum shelves. Inspection showed it to be a typical "Brewster" book, with the "acorn" border to the title-page, and other "Brewster" ornaments, initials and types as shown in the reproduction and description. The discovery was only made when our survey of the press's work was substantially complete, and may be taken as the first fruits of that larger harvest of new "Brewster" books, which we hope may result from our labours.

On testing it in the light of our previous investigation, it is found possible to place it, chronologically, with apparent exactness. The compositor is already using the small "bear" with the break which appears throughout 1618, we may therefore place it *after Ames* and *Abridgment;* on the other hand the corner of the initial "I" is not broken away, we must therefore place it before *Admonition* and *Travers*, unless Brewster had two "I's."

4.

EEN KLARE | *ENDE* | **Duydelijcke uytleggingbe** | *OVER DE* | THIEN GHEBODEN | DES HEEREN. | *MIDTSGADERS,* | **Een corte Catechiſmus / ſommierlijck vervatende | alle de principale gronden der Chriſtelijcker Religie.** | *Wtghegeven inde Enghelſche tale,* | Door de Godſalighe ende VVel-gheleerde | Mr. IOHAN DOD, ende ROBERT CLEAVER. | **Wt de Engbelſche in onſe Nederduytſche Tale | ghetrouwelijck overgheſet** | DOOR | *VINCENTIUM MEVSEVOET* | Bedienaer des Heylighen Euangelij tot Schaghen. | [device.] TOT LEYDEN, **Voor Guiliaem Brewſter / Boeck-drucker.** | **Anno** 1617.

4°, pp. [12] + ff. "183" [really 182]. Sig. $*_{\star}*_{6}$, A-Y_{8}, Z_{6}.

Contents.—p. [1] title; [3-12] Voor-reden [translator's], addressed to M. Wilhelm van Baersdorp; [12] errata; ff. 1-173, the work; 174-"182," Catechismus; "183," "Eene troostelijcke Overdenckinghe" [a translation into Dutch of John Gyll's "Comfortable meditations" appended to English edition of 1614, but not included in Brewster's reprint of 1617].

Ornaments, 12, 13. *Initials*, 7, 19. *Types*, 1, 8, and Gothic founts (figs. 34, 35).

Type-page, 6½ × 4 in.

Premonstrantsche Kerk, Amsterdam, 412. g. 28.

Note.—This book raises a number of questions of great interest, but also of great difficulty. Did Brewster himself print it, or was it printed for him by a Dutch printer? If he printed, did he possess the necessary Gothic founts, or did he hire or borrow them? First let us take the evidence of the title-page. Dr. Eekhof argues that "voor" signifies "for"; Dr. Plooij is of opinion that there is no difference in this case between "voor" and "apud". Who shall decide when doctors disagree? Certainly, if we follow Dr. Eekhof we should hardly expect "Boeck-drucker". In our opinion, however, the typography of the book tips the balance in Dr. Eekhof's favour. Outside this one book there is, in the whole range of books acknowledged by Brewster or attributed to him, not one single jot or title of Gothic letter. Anyone who is at all familiar with English books of this period, and especially with English books printed abroad, will appreciate the significance of this. It is difficult, if not impossible, to believe that Brewster possessed Gothic founts, but never again used them. Did he hire or borrow them, and do the composing and printing himself? Here we are on more doubtful ground. In the first place no fewer than five Gothic founts, ranging from 52 mm. to 88 mm., are used in the body of the work. If Brewster had been hiring or borrowing, he would probably have contented himself with two, or at most three founts. From such minutiæ as signatures little help is to be gained. The use of asterisks for the signatures of the preliminary sheet, commencing the body of the work with Sig. A, agrees with the usage of *Ames* and *Proverbia*. This, however, is in contrast with the usage of later issues from the press, in which the work usually begins with Sig. B, Sig. A with supplementary lower case letters being reserved for the preliminary matter. The evidence of initials and ornaments is inconclusive. The one initial used belonging to the regular "Brewster" alphabet is not itself found elsewhere. The device on the title-page and the tail-piece are also found in no other "Brewster" book. Their significance we have referred to elsewhere (p. 66). Finally, in regard to the Roman founts, we have given references to the "Brewster" founts to which they most closely correspond; but we must admit that the measurements are not exact, and point rather to the same type-face cast upon a body of slightly different measure. We repeat that the weight of evidence appears to us to be against the book being a production of the Brewster press. Needless to say that does not involve deposing it from its position in the Brewster canon. It was undoubtedly published by the firm, even if not printed by them.

5.

AN | ADMONITION | TO THE PARLIAMENT | *HOLDEN IN THE 13. YEARE* | OF THE REIGNE OF *QVEENE* | ELIZABETH OF BLESSED | *MEMORIE.* | *Begun Anno* 1570. *and ended* 1571. | [Jerem. 50. 14, 51. 26; Luke 19. 40.] | [line—ornament No. 2.—line.] *Imprinted Anno* 1617.

4°, pp. [4] + 68 [misprinted "62"] + [2]. Sig. slip t.p. B [misprinted "A" on first leaf] – K.

Contents.—p. [1] title; [3-4] "To the godly readers"; 1-19, "An admonition to the Parliament"; 19-20, "To the christian reader"; 21-25, "An exhortation to the bishops to deale brotherlie with their brethren"; 26-32, "An exhortation to the bishops and their clergie, to answer a little booke," etc.; 32, "A second admonition to the Parliament" [sub-title and texts.]; 33-37, "To the godly readers"; 37-68, "A second admonition to the Parliament" [the work]; [1-2] blank.

Ornaments, 1*c*, 2, 3*b*. *Initials*, 5, 6, 10, 15, 16, 18. *Types*, 1*b*, 2*b*, 3, 6*a*, 7.

Type-page, 6¼ × 4 in. *Brewster Inv.*, 184.

B.M. 3932. cc. 8; D.W.L. 1018. L. 12.

Note.—The above consists of reprints of (1) Field & Wilcox's "Admonition," from the 2nd edition, 1572 (with the letters of Gualter and Beza omitted); (2) the two "Exhortations" originally published in September, 1572 (with the two leaves of prefatory matter headed "Grace and peace from God" omitted); (3) Cartwright's "Second Admonition".

Dexter omits this from his list, one can only think by a pure oversight. The evidence is practically the same for it as for *Travers*, which he accepts. It is the first item for us to examine, which uses the small-faced 66 mm. roman type. It is the kind of book we should expect from the Pilgrim Press, and there is nothing *against* it, except the puzzling variation in ornament No. 3 from the block used for *Proverbia*.

6.

A | FVLL AND | PLAINE DECLA | RATION OF EC-CLESIAS- | *TICAL DISCIPLINE OVT OF* | *the word of God, and of the declining* | *of the Church of England* | *from the fame.* | [line—bear device—line.] | *Reprinted, Anno* | 1617.

4°, pp. [16] + 106 [misprinted "109"]. Sig. A, a, B-P_4.

Contents.—p. [1] title; [3-7] "To the godly reader"; [8-13] "A short table"; [15-16] not seen, presumably blank; 1-"109," the work.

Ornaments, 1*c*, 2. *Initials*, 4, 10. *Types*, 1*b*, 6*b*; 7.

Type-page, 6⅝ × 4 in.

B.M. 4106. b. 46. Bodl. Pamph. 14. D.W.L. 12. 46. 2.

Note.—The case for the above is exactly as strong as for the *Admonition*.

7.

A | CHRISTIAN | PLEA | Conteyning three Treatiſes. | 1. | The firſt, touching the Anabaptiſts, & others main- | teyning ſome like errours with them. | 11. |

The ſecond, touching ſuch Chriſtians, as now are here, com- | monly called Remonſtrants or Arminians. | III. | The third, touching the Reformed Churches, with vvhom my ſelf agree in | the faith of the Goſpel of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. | *Made by* FRANCIS IOHNSON, *Paſtour of the aun-* | *cient Engliſh Church, now ſojourning at Amſterdam* | *in the Low Countreyes.* | [line—Esa. 50. 5, 6. Ier. 15, 19. 2 Tim. 4, 7, 8.—line. | PRINTED, | [line] | In the yeere of our Lord 1617. | [ornaments.]

4°, pp. [8] + 324. Sig. A-Rr$_4$, Ss$_2$.

Contents.—p. [1] title; [3-6] "To the Christian reader"; [7-8] "A table"; 1-324, the work.

Ornaments, <1 c>. *Initials*, 16. *Types*, <6>.

Type-page, 6⅛ × 4⅛ in.

D.W.L. 2073. D. 3.

Note.—How this book came to be ascribed to the "Pilgrim Press" is told by Mr. Bowman in the *Mayflower Descendant* for January, 1920. Mr. Bowman's attention was called to a Brewster autograph signature in a copy of Johnson's *Christian Plea.* "This Brewster autograph," writes Mr. Bowman, "on the title-page of a book without name of printer or place of printing, at once aroused my interest. . . . On turning over the pages, I immediately recognized distinctive ornaments, etc., characteristic of known Brewster imprints; and a critical comparison of this book with known Brewster imprints . . . finally convinced me that Rev. Francis Johnson's *A Christian Plea Conteyning three Treatises*, published in 1617, is a hitherto unnoted product of the Brewster Press at Leyden, Holland."

As in the case of the English *Dod and Cleaver*, the report of this discovery only reached us when our survey of the press was substantially complete. It was possible to test the new-comer by the rules we had laid down. The book undoubtedly falls within the period of the press's activity, and generally speaking it is of the kind Brewster was printing, though there is no apparent reason why Johnson should desert the English printers in Amsterdam, and send his work to Leyden. No such uncertainty exists when we come to the supposed "distinctive ornaments". These are precisely *two* in number, viz. (i) the common initial "T," with the usual breaks in the stem, which we have shown to be by no means confined to Brewster; and (ii) a bear for tail-piece, *which differs in one small but conclusive detail from the block used by Brewster.* The tongue of the right-hand serpent is not barbed, as it is in every other "Brewster" example we have seen (cf. figs. 21, 38). It is possible to argue that Brewster may have had two blocks, but until that is proven, the presence of this particular block is an argument against the validity of the claim. What

it is not possible to argue is that the unbarbed tongue of 1617 grew barbs in time for the production of the *Confutation* in 1618.

As for founts, we are willing to admit that the body of the work is printed in a roman which resembles our No. 6, but the corresponding italic is unquestionably a different face, cf. especially the upper-case "*J*" (fig. 38), where Brewster invariably uses "*I*". If anything more is needed to deal a death-blow to Mr. Bowman's claim, it is the presence of an entirely new non-Brewster fount, a minute roman measuring only 53 mm. Lastly the use of the leaf for the signatures of the first sheet can be paralled in books printed by Thorp in Amsterdam, whom Johnson would naturally patronise, but in no other book that has been ascribed to Brewster.

8.

COMMENTARII | Succincti & Dilucidi | IN | PROVERBIA SALOMONIS. | AVTHORE | THOMA CARTVVRIGHTO | SS. Theologiæ in Academia CAN- | TABRIGIENSI *quondam* | *Profeſſore.* | [line.] | Quibus adhibita eſt Præfatio clariſſimi viri | IOHANNIS POLYANDRI, | S. Theologiæ Profeſſoris LEIDENSIS. | [ornament.] | LVGDVNI BATAVORVM. | Apud *Guiljelmum Brevvſterum,* | In vico Chorali. | 1617.

4°, pp. [12] + 1 + coll. 2-1514 + pp. [26]. Sig. *, A-Eeeee$_4$.

Contents.—p. [1] title; [3-11] "Praefatio Ioh. Polyandri," dated "Lugd. Bat. 10 Januarii 1617"; p. 1, coll. 2-1514 (omitting col. 1134), the work; p. [1-2] blank; [3-17] Index rerum; [18-22] Tabula duplex; [23-24] Tabula posterior; [25] errata.

Ornaments, 1*c*, 2, 3. *Initials,* 2, 17. *Types,* 1, 3, 4.

Type-page, 6 × 4 in. *Brewster Inv.,* 64.

B.M. 3165. c. 28.

Note.—The interest of the *Proverbia* lies less in the types and ornaments which it exhibits than in the general excellence of the press work. We shall have occasion to repeat later that the firm which was capable of turning out a work of this kind with its double columns, and elaborate arrangement of text with surrounding commentary, was certainly capable of undertaking the even more ambitious *Confutation.*

9.

DE | VERA ET | GENVINA IESV | *CHRISTI DOMINI* | ET SALVATORIS | NOSTRI RELI- | GIONE. | *Authore Minist. Angl.* | [Phil. 3. 3] | [bear device.] | *Jmpreſſus Anno Dom.* | 1618.

Sm. 8°, pp. [2] + 326 + [2]. Sig. slip t.p., B-X$_8$, Y$_4$.

Contents.—p. [1] title; [2] "Contenta"; 1-326, the work; [1-2] blank.

Ornaments, 1*b*, 4. *Initials*, 17. *Types*, 6.
Type-page, $4\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$ in. *Brewster Inv.*, 40.
Bodl. 8° A. 13. Th. BS.; 8° C. 587. Linc.

Note.—The importance of this little book cannot be exaggerated. We shall see how the broken "E" on the title-page clinches the argument for the *Confutation*; the breaks in the small "bear" device, found in this acknowledged Brewster book, gather into the true fold all the unacknowledged items of 1618 and 1619 in which it is found. Finally, no sane person can withstand the cumulative evidence afforded by a comparison of p. 1 with p. 1 of *Euring*. The identical ornament at the head of the page, the initials from the same set, the 70 mm. roman and italic types are irresistible. And if *Euring* be genuine, *Dighton*, *Harrison*, *People's Plea*, and the rest follow suit.

10.

DE | REGIMINE | ECCLESIÆ | SCOTICANÆ | BREVIS RE- | LATIO. | [line — ornament— line.] | *Jmpreſſus* | *Anno Dom.* | 1618.

Sm. 8°, pp. [2] + 29 + [1] Sig. A-B.
Contents.—p. [1] title; 1-29, the work.
Ornaments, 2, 10. *Initials*, 13. *Types*, 8.
Type-page, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ in.
B.M. C. 53. aa. 14. Bodl. Byw. U. 4. 15. (5).

Note.—Internal and external evidence for the *De regimine* are alike good. We have only to compare the title-page with that of the *De vera religione*, as Sir Dudley Carleton did three hundred years ago, to exclaim, with him: "The one being confessed, the other cannot well be denied". The evidence of the title-page is confirmed by the "Brewster" type in which the body of the work is printed, and the "acorn" ornament at the head of page 1. As for external evidence we know from Governor Winslow's *First Dialogue*, that Calderwood was in personal touch with the Leyden church in the autumn of the next year, when he found asylum in Holland. It is more than probable that he had been in communication with Leyden for some time before he actually visited it. In any case he found it desirable in 1621 to add a postscript to his *Altar of Damascus:* "Bishop Spotswood hath spread a rumour, that M. David Calderwood is turned Brownist, but I assure thee, good reader, it is not true. . . . If either Spotswood, or his supposed Author, persist in their calumnie after this declaration I shall try if there be any blood in their foreheads".

Dr. Arber seems to have been misled as to a supposed other edition of the *De regimine*,[1] also printed in Holland. It seems clear that when Sir Dudley Carleton speaks of "another," he means "another besides the *Perth Assembly*".[2] He wishes King James to understand, not that there

[1] Arber, p. 238. [2] Ibid., p. 199.

is a Leyden edition *in addition to* the Middelburg edition, but that the edition said to have been printed in Middelburg was actually printed in Leyden. We shall be surprised if *this* bibliographical ghost walks again.

Dr. Arber also mis-dates the book, and in this error he is unfortunately followed by Mr. Duff. By giving it the date "1619" he throws the whole story of the hue and cry after Brewster out of its true perspective. The search is specifically after the printer of the *Perth Assembly* alone. This is quite evident from Sir Dudley Carleton's despatches.

II.

A | TRVE, MODEST, | AND IVST DEFENCE OF | THE PETITION FOR RE- | FORMATION, EXHIBI- | TED TO THE KINGS | MOST EXCELLENT | MAIESTIE. | CONTAINING AN AN- | fwere to the Confutation pub- | lifhed under the names of fome | of the Vniverfitie of | OXFORD. | Together vvith a full declaration out of the | Scriptures, and practife of the Primi- | tiue Church, of the feverall | points of the faid | Petition. | [line—2 Cor. 13. 8, Hierom. dial. adv. Pelag.—line.] | Imprinted 1618.

Sm. 8°, pp. [52] + 240. Sig. A_8, a_8, $*_8$, $**_2$, B-Q_8.

Contents.—p. [1] title; [3-32] To the reader; [33-51] The epistle dedicatory: "To the most Christian and excellent Prince . . . Iames," etc.; two single folio-leaf tables: (i) "The anatomy of the controversed ceremonies," etc.; (ii) "Bellum ceremoniale"; 1-240, the work.

Ornaments, 2. *Initials*, 10. *Types*, 6, 8.

Type-page, $4\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ in. *Brewster Inv.*, 197, 228.

B.M. 3935. a. 15; D.W.L. 12. 30. 22. & 1058. G. 17.

Note.—This is the first item to come under consideration of the five (Nos. 11, 12, 13, 17, 18) which are found bound up together in the small volume in Dr. Williams' Library, as already described (p. 41).

The *Defence*, it should be noted, is much more closely allied both typographically and as to subject-matter to the *Abridgement* than to the other items in this volume. Taken independently the typographical evidence is meagre, but satisfactory. The "acorn" ornament is freely used; the initial "I" has the regular broken corner; no non-Brewster founts are used. The claim to be accepted as a "Brewster" book is immensely heightened when we examine the *Defence* and the *Abridgement* together. There can be little doubt that the compositor of the *Defence* had a copy of the *Abridgement* before him, as a pattern for general style and arrangement. But when we come to minor details the two are linked not to one another, but to the other volumes from the Brewster press with which each is contemporaneous. The body of the *Abridgement* (1617) is in the type of the 1617 (signed) *Ames;* the body of the *Defence* (1618) is in the type of the 1618 (acknowledged) *De vera*

religione. It is scarcely conceivable that this can be a coincidence, i.e. that another printer, besides Brewster, should happen to be using a 66 mm. fount in 1617, and a 70 mm. fount for similar work in 1618.

Certain variations are found in the preliminary sheets. (i) p. [32] "To the reader," *ad fin.*, is found (*a*) without, (*b*) with, catch-word "To". (ii) [p. 33] Two arrangements of the top and bottom lines of ornaments which make up the frame to the capital "M"; the centre ornaments being set (*a*) vertically, (*b*) horizontally. (iii) pp. [49-51] Sig. ** is entirely reprinted in some copies; (*a*) ends: *Iacobi Regis fi-* | *des nostra victoria*, etc.; (*b*) ends: *Iaco-* | *bi regis fides nostra victoria*, etc. The two agree word for word, but the latter is clearly the reprint. This is shown by the contractions at the foot of p. [49] in (*b*), where the compositor finds himself coming near the end of the page before he has finished his copy, and by the way he allows himself to run free on last page. Presumably i*a* is earlier than i*b*; there is nothing to settle the reason or order of the change ii*a-b*. That none of the differences have any significance is shown by the way copies are made up indiscriminately from any combination of the three, viz. B.M., i*a*, ii*b*, iii*b*; D.W.L. [12. 30. 22.], i*b*, ii*a*, iii*a*; ditto. [1058. G. 17.], i*b*, ii*b*, iii*b*.

12.

CERTAIN | REASONS | *OF A PRIVATE* | CHRISTIAN | AGAINST CON- | formitie to kneeling in | the very act of recei- | ving the Lords | *Supper.* | *By* Tho: Dighton *Gent.* | [Gal. 6. 9.—line—ornament—line.] | Anno 1618.

Sm. 8°, pp. [18] + 143 + [1]. Sig. A-K_8, L_2.

Contents.—p. [1] title, within border composed of ornament No. 2; [3-17] the preface; 1-103, "Certain reasons," etc.; 104-142, "To the church of Great Britaine in generall," etc.; 143, closing exhortation.

Ornaments, 1*b*, 2, 10. *Initials*, 16. *Types*, 6.

Type-page, $4\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ in. *Brewster Inv.*, 314.

D.W.L. 12. 30. 22.

Note.—This item gives us the second example of the striking title-page border made up from the "acorn" ornament which is so marked a feature of the 8° series. We have already met with it in the English *Dod and Cleaver*. It is repeated in Nos. 13, 14, 17 and 18. Taking the title-pages alone one would say that they were either from the same press, or deliberate imitations. The latter alternative is put out of court by the presence in three out of the five of the "bear" with the "Brewster" break as found in the *De vera religione*, and by the cumulative evidence of other ornaments, initials and founts in the case of the remaining two. Once established as from the same press, it is possible to arrange these five in chronological order by studying the development of the top and bottom lines of the border towards a symmetrical arrangement. It is clear that the border was kept set up; whenever it was necessary to lengthen or shorten the lines to fit the title, the opportunity was taken to correct any defects of balance in the design.

13.

THE | PEOPLES | PLEA | *FOR* | THE EXERCISE | of Prophefie. | Againſt Mr. *Iohn Yates* his | *Monopolie.* | *By* Iohn Robinſon. | [1 Cor. 14. 1—line.] | Printed in the yeare | 1618.

Sm. 8°, pp. [10] + 77 + [1]. Sig. A-E_8, F_4.
Contents.—p. [1] title, within border composed of ornament No. 2; [3-9] the preface; 1-77, the work.
Ornaments, 1*b*, 2. *Initials*, 8, 16. *Types*, 6, 8.
Type-page, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ in.
D.W.L. 12. 30. 22.
Note.—See above No. 7.

14.

A LITTLE | TREATISE | VPON THE FIRST | verſe of the 122. | PSALME. | Stirring up unto carefull | *deſiring and dutifull* | labouring for the | true Church go- | *vernement.* | [3 stars.] | By R. HARRISON. | [line—Psalm 133. 8.—line.] | Reprinted *An. Dom.* 1618.

Sm. 8°, pp. [6] + 82. Sig. A-E_8, F_4.
Contents.—p. [1] title, within border composed of ornament No. 2; [3-5] the preface; [6] "I would have the Reader advertised," etc.; 1-81, the work; 81-82, selections from Psalm 80, 123, etc.
Ornaments, 2. *Initials*, 11, 14. *Types*, 6, 8.
Type-page, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in. *Brewster Inv.*, 220.
Bodl. 101. g. 320.
Note.—See above No. 7.

15.

[A fruitful sermon upon the 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 verses of the 12 chapter of the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romaines. Very necessary for these times to bee read of all men, for their further instruction and edification, in things concerning their faith and obedience to salvation.]

Sm. 8°, pp. [ ] + 62 + [2]. Sig. A-E8.
Types, 6, 8. *Type-page*, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in. *Brewster Inv.*, 307.
Yale Univ. Library (Dexter collection).
Note.—The above title is taken from the edition of Lawrence Chaderton's sermon printed for Robert Waldegrave, 1589. We are indebted to Mr.

Andrew Keogh, Librarian of Yale University Library for the following description of the only copy at present known of the reprint ascribed to the Pilgrim Press being the first item in Dexter's "small volume":—

"I am sorry to say there is no title-page in our copy, the first two sheets being entirely wanting; and there is no colophon, although we have the last printed page. . . . Our copy begins with C (recto), page 17, and ends with page 62. . . . The book has been trimmed on all sides and is now 5⅞ inches in height. The type-page is 5 (with head-line) × 2½ inches. The first line on page 17 reads as follows:

'their brethren. All which vices, as they sprung'."

It is quite clear, from resemblances in spelling and spacing, that the book is reprinted from Waldegrave's edition of 1589. The two agree almost line for line, but not page for page, the reprint having 34 lines to the page, against Waldegrave's 29. Now the "their brethren," etc., occurs about half-way down page 19 of Waldegrave's edition. Allowing for the difference in lines to the page this would throw the beginning of the sermon back to the beginning of Sig. B (otherwise page 13), leaving Sig. A for title-page, "chiefe heades of the sermon," etc., which occupy Sig. A_{1-4} of Waldegrave's edition. This is quite typical of books attributed to Brewster, i.e. the beginning of the work proper with Sig. B even when reprinting.

16.

A | CONFVTATION | OF THE | RHEMISTS | TRANSLATION, GLOSSES | AND ANNOTATIONS | ON THE | NEVV TESTAMENT, | SO FARRE AS THEY CONTAINE | MANIFEST IMPIETIES, HERESIES, | *Idolatries, Superſtitions, Prophaneſſe, Treaſons, Slanders,* | *Abſurdities, Falſehoods and other evills.* | BY OCCASION WHEREOF THE TRVE SENCE, SCOPE, | and Doctrine of the Scriptures, and humane Authors, by them | abuſed, is now given. | VVRITTEN LONG SINCE BY ORDER FROM THE CHIEFE IN- | ſtruments of the late Queene and State, and at the ſpeciall requeſt and *encouragement of many godly-learned Preachers of England,* | as the enſuing Epistles ſhew. | By that Reverend, Learned, and Iudicious Divine, | THOMAS CARTVVRIGHT, *ſometime Divinitie Reader of* | *Cambridge.* | [line—bear—line.] | *Printed in the yeare,* 1618.

Fol. pp. [58] + 751 + [19]. Sig. A-Iiiii$_4$, Kkkkk-Ooooo$_2$.

Contents.—p. [1] title; [3-4] "The publisher to the studious reader"; [5-6]

"A copie of a letter written by sundry learned men unto Mr. Cartwright, to provoke and encourage him to the answering of the Rhemists," [in Latin]; [6-7] "The same in English" (signed by Roger Goad, William Whitaker, Thomas Crooke, John Ireton, William Fulke, John Field, Nicholas Crane, Giles Seintler, Richard Gardener, William Clarke). "The other names of those which yet live, we have by the advice of our reverend friends for the present concealed"; [8] "The explication of certain words . . . not familiar to the vulgar reader"; [9-47] "The preface to the reader"; [49-58] "The bookes of the New Testament"; 1-761, the work; [1-17] The table; [18] errata.

Ornaments, 1*d*, 2, 5, 6. *Initials*, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 18. *Types*, 1*b*, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8.

Type-page, $9\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ in. *Brewster Inv.*, 83.

B.M. 689. g. 10. D.W.L. 2051. D. 15. Bodl. D. 3. 13. Th.

Note.—The *Confutation* is a veritable exhibition gallery of initials, types, and, in a lesser degree, ornaments. If we can establish its genuineness we shall have authenticated not only the two founts Nos. 7 and 8, but practically the whole series of initials. And fortune favours us. Apart from the two new founts there is a general agreement of types and ornaments with authenticated "Brewster" ones; the initial "I" has the usual broken corner; the "O" has all the defects and irregularities which are found in the *Ames* example. And as if to provide us with a keystone to the arch of proof there is a broken upper-case "E" which appears repeatedly in the large-type heading to the several Epistles, in the heading to the "Preface" (*vide* fig. 25), and in the word "Vera" on the title-page of the acknowledged *De vera religione* (fig. 9).

The only argument against its genuineness is the unlikelihood that so humble a press should embark upon so formidable an undertaking. But this argument really tells the other way. There is, in the first place, nothing in the press-work which is in the least beyond the powers of the firm which was capable of turning out the *Proverbia*, in the previous year. Secondly, there is ample evidence that the work was produced slowly and from a small press. The body of the work is made up of quires of two sheets (four leaves) only, an unusually small number in books of this period; and it is evident that each "quire" was printed off and the type distributed and used again in the printing of the next quire. For example, the large-type heading to each epistle: "The argument of the Epistle of St. Paul to the . . . . " with the acorn ornament above it, and the same broken "E" and example of foul-case, is lifted bodily and used again, as required, often in the very next "quire".

In fact the typographical evidence amply supports the suggestion put forward on general grounds that the book was on the stocks through 1618, the small octavo series being sandwiched in between the setting-up of consecutive "quires" of the larger work.

Before we pass on to the next item, we must point out exactly what bearing the genuineness or otherwise of the *Confutation* has on that of the others in the series. The line of proof for the octavo series is absolutely independent of the *Confutation;* they depend entirely upon the *De vera religione.* But the *Admonition*, *Travers* and *Confutation* stand or fall to-

gether. It is in these three only that the small-faced 66 mm. roman is used for the body of the work, and it is clearly *through* the *Confutation*, with its larger number of links to acknowledged Brewster books, that they justify their claim to be considered genuine.

17.

THE | SECOND PART | *OF* | A PLAIN DISCOVRSE | OF AN VNLETTERED | CHRISTIAN, | WHEREIN BY WAY OF | demonſtration hee ſhevveth vvhat | the reaſons bee vvhich hee doth | ground upon, in refuſing con- | formity to kneeling in the | act of receiving the | Lords Supper. | [3 asterisks] | By *Tho. Dighton*, Gent. | [line—Psal. 119. 113.—line.] | Printed in the yeare | 1619.

Sm. 8°, pp. [16] + 77 + [3]. Sig. A-F_8.

Contents.—p. [1] title, within border composed from ornament No. 2; [3-15] the preface; 1-77, the work; [1-3] blank.

Type-page, 4¾ × 2¼ in. *Brewster Inv.*, 314.

Ornaments, 2. *Initials*, 5, 9. *Types*, 6.

D.W.L. 12. 30. 22.

Note.—See above 7.

18.

AN | ANSVVER | TO THE TEN | COVNTER DE- | MANDS | PROPOVNDED BY | T. DRAKES, Preacher of | *the Word at* H. *and* D. | in the County of | ESSEX. | By *Wil. Euring.* | [line—Prov. 9. 12.—line] | Printed in the yeare | 1619.

Sm. 8°, pp. [6] + 38 + [4]. Sig. A-C_8.

Contents.—p. [1] title, within border composed of ornament No. 2; [3-6] "To the reader"; 1-38, the work; [1-4] blank.

Ornaments, 1*b*, 2, 4. *Initials*, 10, 14. *Types*, 6.

Type-page, 4¾ × 2¼ in.

D.W.L. 12. 30. 22.

Note.—See above (7). Until a few years ago Drakes' *Ten Counter Demands*, to which this is a reply, was a bibliographical ghost, the very existence of which in print had been questioned. In 1911 a copy came into the hands of Mr. Henry Stevens of Gt. Russell Street, who first identified and described it. It subsequently crossed to America, and is now in the Huntingdon Library in New York, having been purchased at the Robinson sale in 1917 for 1050 dollars. Before leaving England it was

examined and transcribed by Mr. Champlin Burrage, who has reprinted it in full in his *Early English Dissenters* (1912), Vol. II., pp. 140-145.

Mr. Burrage also shows that it is a reply not to Robinson and Brewster's *Seven Articles*, as stated by Dr. Arber,[1] but to the *Seven Questions* appended to Francis Johnson's *Treatise of the Ministry*.

19.

PERTH | ASSEMBLY. | CONTAINING | 1 The Proceedings thereof. | 2 The Proofe of the Nullitie thereof. | 3 Reaſons preſented thereto againſt the recei- | ving the fiue new *Articles* impoſed. | 4 The oppoſiteneſſe of it to the proceedings and | oath of the whole ſtate of the Land. *An.* 1581. | 5 Proofes of the unlawfulneſſe of the ſaid fiue | Articles, *viz.* 1. Kneeling in the act of Re- | ceiving the Lords Supper. 2. Holy daies. | 3. Bishopping. 4. Private Baptiſme. 5. Pri- | vate Communion. [The five main headings are bracketted.] | [line—Exod. 20. 7 ; Colos. 2. 8—line] | MDCXIX.

4°, pp. [6] + 101 + [1]. Sig. A-N_4, O_2.

Contents.—p. [1] title, within double line; [3-6] To the reader; 1-101, the work.

Type-page, $5\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ in. *Brewster Inv.*, 186.

Ornaments, 3*b*, 6, 10. *Initials*, 4, 8, 10, 16. *Types*, 6, 8.

D.W.L. 2006. F. 21.

Note.—The problem raised by the *Perth Assembly* is a curious one. Sir Dudley Carleton, as we have seen, wavered, but finally convinced himself that it was from the Pilgrim Press. We are ourselves in much the same position. Not a single non-Brewster ornament, initial, or fount is used; the initial "I" has the regular broken corner, and so on. But all the commonest ornaments are conspicuous by their absence. No jot or tittle of the "acorn" design is found; not a trace of the bear. The body of the work resembles the *Admonition* and *Travers*, though as a rule different small ornaments, section head-lines, etc., are employed. But the title-page is different from anything that has been attributed to the press. The double line border, the date in Roman figures without any "Anno Dom." or "Imprinted"—these are without any parallel. Without the external evidence it would probably never have occurred to anyone to assign the work to the Pilgrim Press; yet once put upon the track it is impossible to deny its genuineness. We may choose between two explanations: (i) The compositor may have been deliberately varying his style. But if so, why did he not take equal care to conceal his identity in the case of the *De regimine?* And why did he not avoid

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

ornaments and initials entirely, as is done in the *Altar of Damascus* 1621? (ii) A new compositor may have been at work. Did Sir Dudley Carleton suspect something of the kind when he wrote: "if he [Brewster] was not the printer himself, he assuredly knows both the printer and the author?" If so, is it not possible that this new compositor may have been Edward Raban, whose claim to have served under Brewster we have already examined.[1]

20.

APOLOGIA | IVSTA, ET NECES- | SARIA QVORVN- | DAM | Chriſtianorum, æque con- | tumelioſe ac commu- | niter dictorum *Brow-* | *niſtarum* ſive *Ba-* | *rowiſtarum.* | per | IOHANNEM ROBINSONVM | Anglo-Leidenſem, ſuo & | Eccleſiæ nomine, cui præ- | ficitur. | [Psal. 41. 2.—ornament.] | ANNO DOM. 1619.

Sm. 8°, pp. 96. Sig. A-F_8.

Contents.—p. [1] title, within single line; 3-96, the work.

Ornaments, none. *Initials*, 10. *Types*, none.

Type-page, $5\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$ in.

Bodl. 8. R. 79. Th.; New. Coll., Lond.

Note.—The case for the *Apologia* practically does not exist. Dr. Dexter does not say what he bases it upon. We have no reason for supposing even that it comes within the period of the press's activity. It is just as likely that it appeared during the latter half of the year. It contains no "Brewster" ornament; the one Brewster initial is *without the broken corner*, which occurs in every other example we have dealt with after 1617. Even if we stretch a point and admit that the roman type of the body of the work *may* be the same as the familiar 70 mm., we are pulled up by an italic and a Greek fount used with it which are certainly different from any we have so far met with.[2] The italic has a distinctly smaller, and the Greek a distinctly larger face than the corresponding "Brewster" types.

Mr. Andrew Keogh, Librarian of Yale University Library, writing without any knowledge of our own conclusion, describes the book as "printed, I think, in Leyden, although not by Brewster". As this is a study of the Pilgrim Press, and not of the Leyden community, it is no part of our business to find an alternative printer for the rejected *Apologia*. We may, however, point out that the Greek type is the same as that used by Thorp in Amsterdam.

[1] Pp. 58 ff. [2] Fig. 37.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

The Site of Brewster's house . . . . . *Frontispiece*

Maps showing position of house . . . . *To face pp.* 23, 29

Figs. 1-14. Title-pages of Nos. 1-14 . . . . . *At end*

Fig. 15. Specimen page from Chaderton . . . . . ,,

Figs. 16-20. Title-pages of Nos. 16-20 . . . . . ,,

Fig. 21. Tail-piece to preface of *Confutation* . . . ,,

Fig. 22 First page of Polyander's preface to *Proverbia* . ,,

Fig. 23. First page of *De vera religione* . . . . . ,,

Fig. 24. First page of Euring . . . . . ,,

Fig. 25. First page of preface of *Confutation* . . . ,,

Fig. 26. First page of text of *Proverbia* . . . . . ,,

Fig. 27. Preliminary matter from *Ames* . . . . . ,,

Fig. 28. First page of text of *Ames* . . . . . ,,

Fig. 29. First page of preface of *Ames* . . . . . ,,

Fig. 30. Tail-piece to Dutch Dod and Cleaver . . . ,,

Fig. 31. Second page of text of *Ames* . . . . . ,,

Fig. 32. From Latin and English versions of commendatory letter to *Confutation* . . . . . ,,

Fig. 33. Specimens of all the 23 mm. initials . . . ,,

Fig. 34. Preface to Dutch Dod and Cleaver . . . ,,

Fig. 35. First page of Dutch Dod and Cleaver . . . ,,

Fig. 36. Typical specimen from body of *Confutation* . . ,,

Fig. 37. Specimen page from Robinson's *Apologia* . . ,,

Fig. 38. Last page of Johnson's *Appeal* . . . . . ,,

GVIL. AMESII

ad Responsum

NIC. GREVINCHOVII

RESCRIPTIO

CONTRACTA.

Accedunt ejusdem assertiones Theologicæ de Lumine Naturæ & Gratiæ.

Prostant

LVGDVNI BATAVORVM,

Apud Guiljelmum Brewsterum

In Vico Chorali.

1617.

FIG. 1

AN ABRIDGEMENT OF THAT BOOKE WHICH *THE MINISTERS OF LINCOLNE DIOCESSE DE-* liuered to his Maiestie vpon the first of December 1605.

BEING THE FIRST PART OF *AN APOLOGIE FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR BRETHREN THAT REFVSE THE* Subscription and Conformitie which is required.

WHEREVNTO IS ANNEXED, *A Table of sundry Points not handled in this Abridgement, which are other exceptions they take to the Subscription required, and shall be the Argument of the second part of their APOLOGIE.*

IOHN 7. 51.

Doth our Law iudge a man before it heare him, and know what hee hath done?

EZECH. 11. 15.

Sonne of man, thy brethren, euen thy brethren, the men of thy kindred, and all the house of Israel wholly, are they vnto whom the inhabitants of Ierusalem haue said, Depart yee farre from the Lord, for the land is giuen vs in possession.

GAL. 6. 12.

As many as desire to make a faire shew in the flesh, they constraine you to be circumcised, onely because they would not suffer persecution for the Crosse of Christ.

Reprinted, *Anno Dom.* 1617.

22

FIG. 2

A

PLAINE AND FAMILIAR EXPOSITION OF THE TENNE COMMANDEMENTS.

WITH A METHODICALL short Catechisme, containing briefly all the principall grounds of Christian RELIGION.

According to the last corrected and inlarged Copie by the Author, Mr. IOHN DOD.

To which is now prefixed three profitable Tables.

PSALM. 119. 30.
The entrance into thy word sheweth light, and giueth vnderstanding to the simple.

Printed Anno Dom. 1617.

FIG. 3

EEN KLARE
ENDE
Duydelijcke uytleggingh
OVER DE
THIEN GHEBODEN
DES HEEREN.

MIDTSGADERS,
Een corte Catechismus / sommierlijck vervatende alle de principale gronden der Christelijcker Religie.

Wtghegeven inde Enghelsche tale,
Door de Godsalighe ende VVel-gheleerde
Mr. IOHAN DOD, ende ROBERT CLEAVER
Wt de Enghelsche in onse Neder-duytsche Tale ghetrouwelijck overgheset
DOOR
VINCENTIVM MEVSEVOET,
Bedienaer des Heylighen Euangelij tot Schaghen.

TOT LEYDEN,
Voor Guliaem Brewster / Boeck-drucker.
Anno 1617.

FIG. 4

AN
ADMONITION
TO THE PARLIAMENT
HOLDEN IN THE 13. YEARE
OF THE REIGNE OF *QVEENE*
ELIZABETH OF BLESSED
MEMORIE.

Begun Anno 1570. *and ended* 1571.

IEREM. 50. 14.

Put your ſelues in array againſt Babel round about: all you that bend your bow, ſhoot at her, ſpare no arrowes: for ſhe hath ſinned againſt the Lord.

IEREM. 51. 26.

They ſhall not take of thee a ſtone for a corner, nor a ſtone for foundation, but thou ſhalt be deſtroyed for euer.

LVKE 19. 40.

If theſe ſhould hold their peace, the ſtones ſhould cry.

Imprinted, Anno 1617.

FIG. 5 (reduced)

A

FVLL AND PLAINE DECLA

RATION OF ECCLESIAS-

TICAL DISCIPLINE OVT OF the Word of God, and of the declining of the Church of England from the same.

to be written by Perry and Vdal
vid Bakers chron. p. 575

Reprinted, Anno 1617

Fig. 6 (reduced)

A CHRISTIAN PLEA

Conteyning three Treatiſes.

I.

The firſt, touching the Anabaptiſts, & others mainteyning ſome like errours with them.

II.

The ſecond, touching ſuch Chriſtians, as now are here, commonly called Remonſtrants or Arminians.

III.

The third, touching the Reformed Churches, with vvhom my ſelf agree in the faith of the Goſpel of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

Made by FRANCIS IOHNSON, *Paſtour of the auncient Engliſh Church, now ſojourning at Amſterdam in the Low Countreyes.*

Eſa. 50. 5. 6.

The Lord hath opened myne eare, and I was not rebellious, neyther turned away back. I gaue my back to the ſmiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the haire: I hid not my face from ſhame & ſpitting.

Ier. 15, 19.

Thus ſaith the Lord, If thou returne, then wil I bring thee againe, & thou ſhalt ſtand before me: & if thou take forth the precious from the evill, thou ſhalt be as my mouth: let them returne unto thee, but returne not thou unto them.

2 *Tim.* 4, 7, 8.

I haue fought a good fight, I haue finiſhed my courſe, I haue kept the Faith. Henceforth there is layd up for me a crown of righteouſnes, which the Lord the righteous Iudge ſhall giue me at that day: and not to me onely, but unto them alſo that loue his appearing.

PRINTED,

In the yeere of our Lord 1617.

FIG. 7

COMMENTARII
Succincti & Dilucidi
IN
PROVERBIA SALOMONIS.

AVTHORE
THOMA CARTVVRIGHTO
S. Theologiæ in Academia CANTABRIGIENSI *quondam*
Professore.

Quibus adhibita est Præfatio clarissimi viri
IOHANNIS POLYANDRI,
S. Theologiæ Professoris LEIDENSIS.

Tab-116 a
nº.14

LVGDVNI BATAVORVM.
Apud *Guilielmum Brewsterum*,
In vico Chorali.
1617.

FIG. 8

DE VERA ET GENVINA IESV CHRISTI DOMINI ET SALVATORIS NOSTRI RELIGIONE.

Authore Minist. Angl.

PHIL. 3. 3.

Nos enim sumus circumcisio, qui spiritu servimus Deo, & gloriamur in Christo Iesu, & non in carne fidnicam habentes.

Impressus Anno Dom.
1618.

FIG. 9

DE

REGIMINE ECCLESIÆ SCOTICANÆ BREVIS RELATIO.

Impressus Anno Dom.
1618.

Fig. 10

distinguish from 4 di. Apr. 53 d 5 1)

TRVE, MODEST, AND IVST DEFENCE OF THE PETITION FOR REFORMATION, EXHIBITED TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAIESTIE.

Reas. ye names of such as subscribed to the petition. p. 54. to p. 60.

CONTAINING AN ANSWERE to the Confutation published under the names of some of the Vniversitie of OXFORD.

Acts. 14. 23. 1 Cor. 12. 28. Abused. Epist. pag. 20. 21.

Together with a full declaration out of the Scriptures, and practise of the Primitiue Church, of the severall points of the said Petition.

The Sword not to be queened & vnworthy 47. 48.

Things indifferent abused not to be vsed 23. 24.

2. COR. 13. 8.

Wee can doe nothing against the truth, but for the truth.

Hierom. dial. adverſ. Pelag.

Veritas laborare potest, vinci non potest.
The truth may bee contradicted, but it cannot bee conquered.

Imprinted 1618.

FIG. 11

dlWsng a20m-4 dt-pisd (1)

CERTAIN

REASONS

OF A PRIVATE

CHRISTIAN

AGAINST CONformitie to kneeling in the very act of receiving the Lords pag 92 93 sunt Supper.

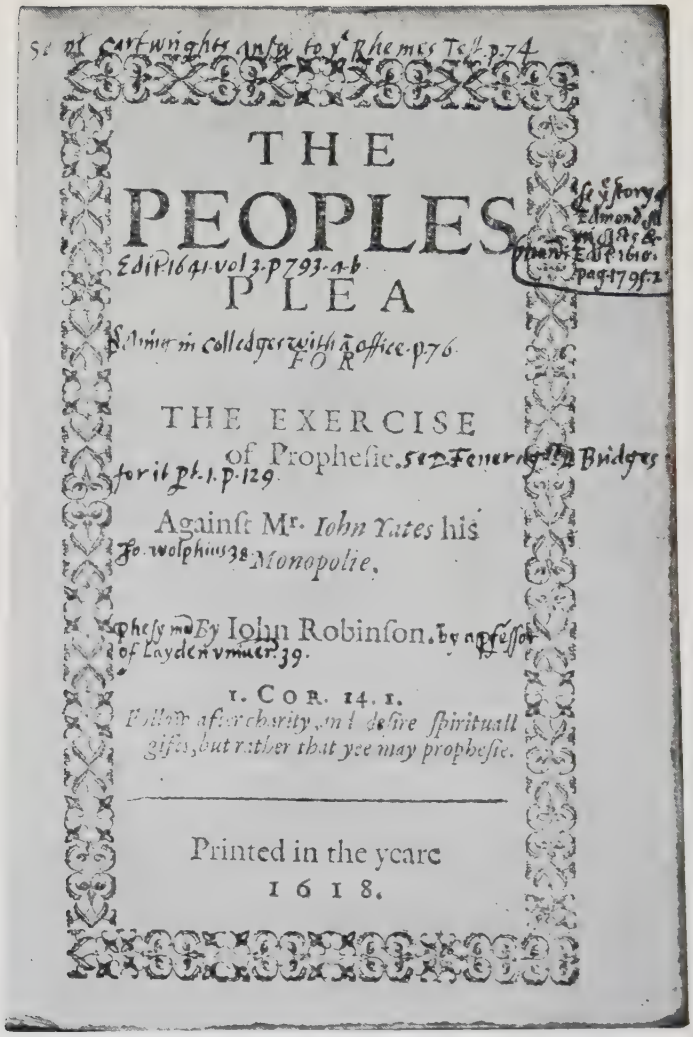
By Tho: Dighton *Gent.*

GAL. 6. 9.

Let us not be weary of Wel-doing; for in due season We shall reape if We faint not.

Anno 1618.

FIG. 12



THE PEOPLES PLEA

FOR

THE EXERCISE

of Propheſie.

Againſt Mr. *Iohn Yates* his *Monopolie*,

By Iohn Robinſon.

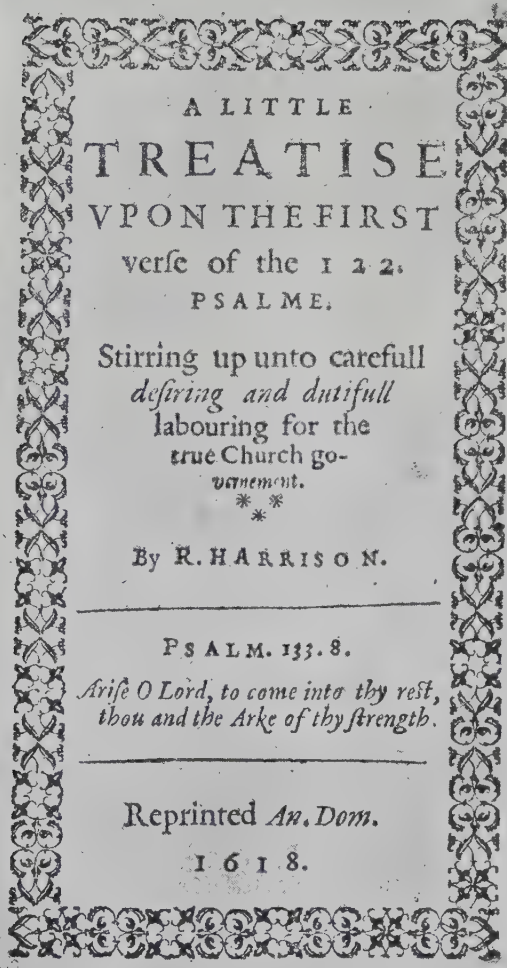
1. COR. 14. 1.

Follow after charity, and deſire ſpirituall gifts, but rather that yee may propheſie.

Printed in the yeare

1618.

FIG. 13



A LITTLE
TREATISE
VPON THE FIRST
verſe of the 122.
PSALME.

Stirring up unto carefull
deſiring and dutifull
labouring for the
true Church go-
vernement.
* *
*

By R. HARRISON.

PSALM. 133. 8.

Ariſe O Lord, to come into thy reſt,
thou and the Arke of thy ſtrength.

Reprinted *An. Dom.*
1618.

101. g 320.

Fig. 14

but all theſe functions are ſufficient for theſe ends: therefore onely theſe are ſufficient.

Fiftly, if any erect new Miniſteries, he muſt either giue new gifts, or aſſure men, that they ſhall haue new gifts of God: but none can do thus: therefore theſe onely are ſufficient.

Sixtly, if men may add, they may detract: but the ſecond is falſe, therefore the firſt.

Seing then theſe things are ſo as hath been ſet forth, out of the word of God, that this is his order, to wch all ought to bow their backs every one keeping his proper place, and none intruding upon the right & intereſt of another: ſeing ſuperfluous things ought to be cut off, & ſuch offices as are frō Antichriſt, ought to be abandoned: let us every one in our places, pray to our God that he will pitty this his poore Church, that truth & righteouſnes may kiſſe each other that his ſcepter may floriſh, the ſtif-necks of the obſtinate, and the Iron ſinewes of the rebellious may be bowed and broken, to the end theſe confuſions that appeare euery where: this pompous pride and curſed ambition, enemy to all ſincerity, good order, and true religion, may ceaſe: and onely the glory and victory of Chriſt, our onely King, Prophet, and Prieſt, may be eſtabliſhed: to whom with the Father and the holy Ghoſt three perſons and one eternall God, bee all praiſe, glory, and honor, now and for euer, *Amen.*

FINIS.

2051 D. 15

A CONFVTATION OF THE RHEMISTS TRANSLATION, GLOSSES AND ANNOTATIONS ON THE NEVV TESTAMENT.

SO FARRE AS THEY CONTAINE *MANIFEST IMPIETIES, HERESIES, Idolatries, Superſtitions, Prophaneſſe, Treaſons, Slanders, Abſurdities, Falſehoods and other evills.*

BY OCCASION WHEREOF THE TRVE SENCE, SCOPE, and Doctrine of the Scriptures, and humane Authors, by them abuſed, is now given.

WRITTEN LONG SINCE BY ORDER FROM THE CHIEFE INſtruments of the late Queene and State, and at the ſpeciall requeſt and *encouragement of many godly-learned Preachers of England*, as the enſuing Epiſtles ſhew.

By that Reverend, Learned, and Iudicious Divine, THOMAS CARTVVRIGHT, *ſometime Diuinity Reader of Cambridge.*

Printed in the yeare 1618.

FIG. 16 (reduced)

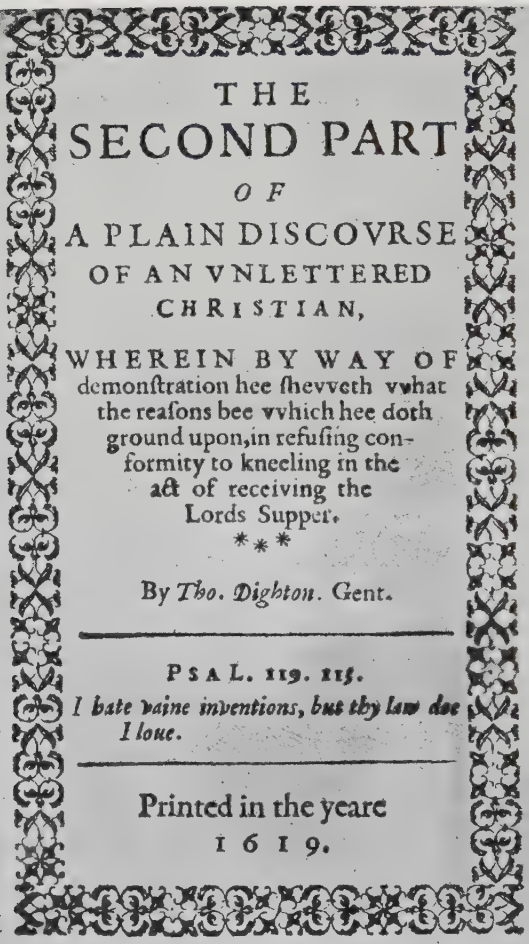
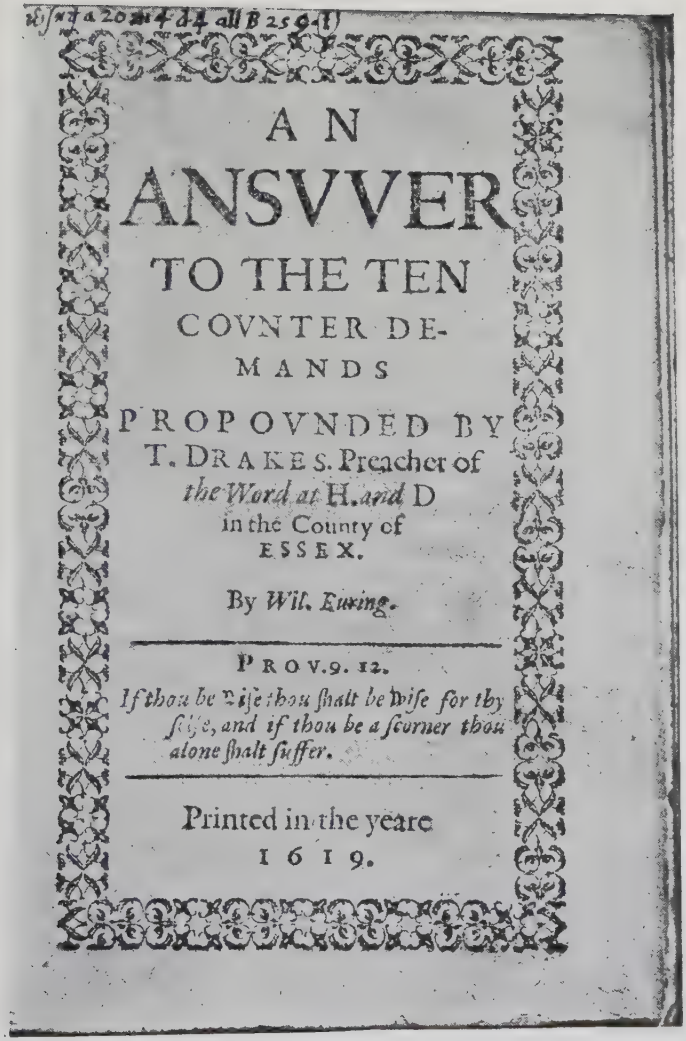

THE
SECOND PART
OF
A PLAIN DISCOVRSE
OF AN VNLETTERED
CHRISTIAN,
WHEREIN BY WAY OF demonſtration hee ſhevveth vvhat the reaſons bee vvhich hee doth ground upon, in refuſing conformity to kneeling in the act of receiving the Lords Supper.
***
By *Tho. Dighton*. Gent.
PSAL. 119. 113.
I hate vaine inventions, but thy law doe I loue.
Printed in the yeare
1619.

FIG. 17



AN ANSVVER TO THE TEN COVNTER DEMANDS PROPOVNDED BY T. DRAKES. Preacher of *the Word at* H. *and* D in the County of ESSEX.

By *Wil. Euring.*

PROV. 9. 12.

If thou be wise thou shalt be wise for thy selfe, and if thou be a scorner thou alone shalt suffer.

Printed in the yeare 1619.

FIG. 18

PERTH ASSEMBLY.

CONTAINING

1 The Proceedings thereof.
2 The Proofe of the Nullitie thereof.
3 Reasons presented thereto against the receiving the five new *Articles* imposed.
4 The oppositenesse of it to the proceedings and oath of the whole state of the Land. *An.* 1581.
5 Proofes of the unlawfulnesse of the said five Articles, *viz.* 1. Kneeling in the act of Receiving the Lords Supper. 2. Holy daies. 3. Bishopping. 4. Private Baptisme. 5. Private Communion.

By David Calderwood, then Minister of Crailing in Teviotdale; Author of the History of the Church of Scotland, The Altar of Damascus, & of sundrie of sathans Trac[illegible].

EXOD. 10. 7.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vaine, for the Lord will not hold him guiltlesse that taketh his name in vaine.

COLOS. 2. 8.

Beware lest there be any that spoyle you through Philosophy & vain deceit, through the traditions of men, according to the rudiments of the World, and not of Christ.

Edinburgh MDCXIX. printed by Andro Hart and sold by him, and by James Cathkin & Richard Lawson

Fig. 19 (reduced)

APOLOGIA IVSTA, ET NECESSARIA QVORVNDAM Christianorum, æque contumelioſe ac communiter dictorum *Browniſtarum* ſive *Barowiſtarum*.

per

IOHANNEM ROBINSONVM Anglo-Leidenſem, ſuo & Eccleſiæ nomine, cui præficitur.

PSAL. 41. 2.

Beatus, qui attendit ad attenuatum.

ANNO DOM. 1619.

FIG. 20

Fig. 21

IOHANNES POLYANDER
AD SS. THEOLOGIÆ candidatos.

VNiverſa doctrina, Juvenes doctiſſimi, à populo Dei recepta qua Eccleſiæ corpus regitur atque in officio ſuo retinetur, aut credenda complectitur, aut agenda. In illis fidei dogmata, in his vitæ præcepta continentur. Utraque vel publicè ad Dei cultum pertinent, vel privatim ad morum inſtitutionem referuntur, eaque omnia aut à Prophetis & Apoſtolis ſunt prodita, quæ vel oracula, vel mandata divina vocantur, aut ab Eccleſiæ Doctoribus ac Paſtoribus ſunt genuinis interpretationibus doctisque annotationibus illuſtrata, quæ Commentaria Eccleſiaſtica, appellantur; quorum illa ſunt θεόπνευστα, ſeu divinitus inſpirata, ac proinde ab omnibus ſine ulla exceptione approbanda: hæc virorum pereruditorum induſtria congeſta, ideoque tum ſuorum auctorum correctioni, tum aliorum cenſuræ obnoxia, nec recipienda, niſi ad faciliorem præceptionum divinarum intelligentiam ac commodiorem

DE VERA ET GENVINA CHRISTI RELIGIONE.

Politicus.

VAlde me dolore afficiunt imo animum excrutiant Christianorum dissidentium inter se tot quasi familiæ, noua indies oriuntur dogmata, nullus litigandi finis, vtinam aliquis ex animo diceret quæ sit vera & genuina Christi religio, quamvis in magnum volumen excresceret tractatus rei, non grauatè legerem.

Theologus. Vir politice, vt tibi non respondeam, prius quam rationem tui nominis reddam: Tu *Politicus* diceris, vt tuam ciuilem in gubernanda non solum Repub. tua, sed Ecclesia nostra prudentiam designem. Ego rursus *Theologus* dici volo, at absit omnis arrogantia a nomine, quia tu qui ex aduerso es *Politicus* haberis: id est *Theologus* respondens quia *Politicus* opponens: Nunc autem illud expecto a te vt patienter feras hanc meam in veritate rerum informationem; Vnde plenius tibi in tuis postulatis satisfaciam.

Fig. 23

AN ANSWERE TO TEN Counter-Demands, Propounded by T. DRAKES, *Preacher of* the Word at *H.* and *D.* in the County of ESSEX.

REverend ſir, you haue giuen vs heer 2 *Counter blowes*: and as it is reported you yet thinke to giue vs, if not a greater, yet another *Blow*, but you earneſtly deſired to haue theſe your *Ten Counter-blowes* directly and diſtinctly anſvvered; vvhich I vvill labour to do God aſſiſting mee.

Demand 1. Your firſt Demande is, *Whether our ſeperation from your Church or Churches aſſembles of England, can in any probability be pleaſing vnto God, ſeeing it hath had (ſay you) ſuch vnhappy beginnings, and ſo many diſmall and fatall events: the firſt founder of it comming to* Iudas *his ſhamefull and fearfull end, hanging him ſelfe: and the ſecond (you ſay) totally recanting and comming againe to you: as divers of our proſelites doe daily, &c* 1 Demand Mat. 27.5

Anſwere.

This is the ſume or ground of your firſt De- Anſw

FIG. 24

Et Primitias & decimas boni, D
tribuimus.
Mallem ſervus eſſe, quam Sa
legus.

Scal. Exerc. CCCVII.

Declamationes amb
tioſorum opera: Otioſo
rum cibi ſunt. Divinitat
negotijs impedito anim
ſtudendum eſt ei brevi
ti, quæ res æquet verbi
Demonſtrationes cert
habeat pro Nectare.

Inde

Index Capitum,

Partis primæ:

De mortis Chriſti fine, pa. 1
De amore Dei, p. 10
De volendi cauſa in Deo, 14
De teſtimonio Chriſti, 20
De ſacerdotio Chriſti, 26

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De electionis objecto, fructu, ſenſu, 47
De infantibus, 57
De Tyrijs & Sidonijs, 62
De conciliatione decreti & executionis ejus, 69

6, D6

RESCRIPTIO AMESII CONTRACTA.

Pars prima.

CAPVT I.

De fine mortis Christi.

Occasio Capitis primi.

DE morte Christi rogatus Nicolaus Grevinchovius annon omnibus applicetur quibus intenditur à Deo? respondit negando; everſa verò fuit negatio, hoc argumento: Applicatio hæc ſit ſecundum intentionem Dei: Ergò, omnibus applicatur, quibus intenditur. Cujus aſſumptionem primò negabat Nicolaus: ſed mutato deinde conſilio, diſtinguere maluit intentionem impetrationis & applicationis. Tum verò inſtabat Ameſius: applicationem eſſe finem impetrationis, atque adeo parem eſſe utriuſque

FIG. 28

LECTORI.

OPtimus hic, & innocentissimus labor, quin abignavissimo quoq; obtrectationem passurus sit, hac maledicendi licentiâ, nescire non debui, si sæculum novi quo vivimus. Cujus enim ætati, honori, meritis pepercerunt hirudines bonæ famæ?

FIG. 29

Fig. 30

rationem, quoad intentionem. Hic cùm alia non eſſet ratio per quam elabi poſſet: negabat Nicol. applicationem eſſe proprium finem impetrationis; Reſponſum hoc primo capite expenditur.

FInes & limites rerum eodem ſenſu, dici, concedent omnes qui norint: Actus & appetitus omnes qui ſunt rationis, proportionem, modum, menſuram & ſpeciem aliquatenus à fine habere atque ejus intentione. Sic in morte Chriſti; ſi ſcopus hujus operis ad omnes ſingulos pariter extendendus non ſit & neq; opus ipſum ad univerſos pertinere apertum eſt.

Hic irrumpit Nicol. negando *fructum ſalutarem qui ex morte Chriſti jam applicatâ eſt oriundus ipſius mortis aut redemptionis per ipſam impetratæ finem proprium vel eſſe, vel dici debere, cum* IMPETRATIO SIT ACTIO ABSOLVTA, APPLICATIO VERO CONDITIONATA, *ita ut omnibus potuiſſet impetrari redemptio, & nullis tamen applicari.*

Quam opinionem paucis examinabimus, ac primùm ex ſcripturis contrà ſic probamus. Si hanc ob cauſam & hoc

NVNQVAM àte (Venerande CARTVVRIGHTE) plus operæ exigeremus, quam quod in miniſterio publico conſumitur; niſi Eccleſiæ noſtræ rationes & frequentes hoſtium incurſiones vehementer flagitarent. Cum vero Templum domini extruere jam nobis ſatis non ſit, ſed altera etiam pugnandum manu contra frequentes hæreticorum exercitus; non ægrè feres, ſi te Eccleſiæ noſtræ alumnum ad certaminis hujus ſocietatem provocemus. Non

WEE never would require of you (highly reverend Cartwright) any further endevour then that which is ſpent in the publicke miniſtery, except the reſpects of our Church ſtate, and the oft incurſions of our enemies did vehemently urge us. But ſince it is not now ſufficient for us to build up the Temple of the Lord: but wee muſt alſo with the other hand fight againſt the frequent armies of heretickes: you would not take it ill if we provoke you as a foſter child of our Church unto the fellowſhip of this conflict, you are not ignorant with how great force and furie the bandes of Papiſts, and ſwarmes of Ieſuites haue flowne upon our Churches. We haue felt whatſoever open hoſtility, ſecret ſtratagems, and privy plottings could

FIG. 32

Fig. 33

Den Erentvesten / wijsen /

Voorsienigen / Hoogh-geleerden Mr. Wilhelm van Baersdorp, Raetsheer in den Provincialen Raedt van Hollandt / ende West-Friesslandt / sy genade ende vrede van Godt den Vader door Jesum Christum.

MYn Heer.

Het is den menschen eyghen, sijn ongheluck ende schade te haten ende te schouwen, ende sijn gheluck ende profijt te soecken. maer verdorven zijnde in sijn oordeel, soo acht hy dat sijn hooghste goet gheleghen is in't verganckelijcke, als in't besitten van vele rijckdommen, tot staten ende hoogheden voort-getrocken te worden, in eeren boven anderen te wesen, den wellust des vleesches te volghen, ende in wereltsche vreuchden te leven. Na dese dinghen ar-

Godt ſprack alle deſe woorden ende ſeyde: Ick ben de Heere uvve Godt, die u uyt Egypten-lande uyt den dienſt-huyſe gheleydt hebbe.

DEſe woorden begrijpen eene voor-bereydinghe om ons op te wecken de Wet des Heeren met allen vlijt ende conſcientie te houdē: welcke eenſdeels betreft de onderhoudinghe van alle de ghebooden in't alghemeen/ ende beſonderlyckers van het eerſte gebodt. Het voorbereptſel 'twelcke alle de ghebooden betreft/ is in deſe woorden [Godt ſprack,] dat is/ nademael dat ſy Godt tot haren Autheur ende Leeraer der ſelver/ ſonder middel/ ſelfs door ſijne eyghene stemme hebben; daerom moeten wy onſe zielen vaſt ſtellen om die te gehoorſamen ſonder weder-ſtaen/ oft tegen-ſeggen. 'T geene 't welck tot het eerſte gebodt behoort/ is genomen/ eerſt van de natuere Gods/ die daer is Jehova/ 't welck beteken̄t ſijn weſen: onmededeelijck aen eenighe creatueren: Ende ten anderen van ſijne weldaden/ 't zy alghemeene in deſe woorden [uwe Godt,] dat is/ een/ die my ſelven verplicht hebbe in't verbondt met u/ dat ick uwe weſen ſal/ om u te verloſſen van alle qualen der zielen/ ende des

A lichaems

The note of *my sheepe* is too sheepish, considering that both Churches are Christs sheep as well as the whole. And that the rest of the Apostles aswell as *Peter* had their charge to feed all the world by preaching vnto it: The reason also drawen from the Greek word to *Peter* peerles rule and authoritie ouer all is as simple as the other, for *Peter* applying the same word unto euery Pastour should (by their reason) giue euery Pastor the same peerles authoritie in his charge and consequently shut foorth himselfe from hauing any rule ouer them. Againe it is vnskilfully reasoned, that for so much as this word is giuen to Kinges with rule commandinglie, that therefore it signifieth a commanding rule or authoritie, when it is known that Kings and princes haue diuers titles which set forth their diuers either effects or properties which belong vnto them; And therefore as certain words do signifie their commanding power and authoritie, so there be some other that set forth carefull and louing prouision which they make for their subiects in the number whereof this word of *feeding* is.

Math. 28. 1. Pet. 5. ποιμανατε.

ἀρχόντες αὐτοκράτορ ἀνάξιοι. Peter crucified at Rome Beza in hunc locum.

Verse 18 Amen, Amen, I say to thee, when thou wast yonger, thou didst gird thy selfe, and didst walke where thou wouldest: but when thou shalt bee old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shalll gird thee, and leade thee whither thou wilt not.

RHEM. 4. [18 *Another shall gird thee.*] He propheseth of *Peters* martyrdome, and of the kind of death which he should suffer that was crucifying, which the heretikes fearing that it were a step to proue he was martyred in *Rome*, deny: whereas the Fathers & ancient writers are as plain in this, as that he was at Rome, *Origen apud Euseb. lib. 3. c. 1. Euseb. li. 2. c. 24. Hist. Ec. Tertul. de prescript. nn. 14. Aug. Tract 123. in Ioan. Chrysost. Beda in hunc locum.*

CARTVV. 4. [18 *Another shall gird thee.*] If it were true that *Peter* were at Rome, and was martyred there, it hurteth not but helpeth vs as hath been shewed upon Math. 16. 18. And if hee were, yet this text doeth no more proue it, then that he was martyred in Ierusalem, which is that onely that M. Beza saith in this place. Neither is there any of these Authorities alledged, that with these words either doe or can frame *Peters* crosse at Rome.

Beza in annot. in hunc Test.

And therefore they are idely opposed to M. *Bezas* iudgement, against whom, how greadily they cauill in this point, it may easily appeare, in that he is willing to pleasure these poore men with the graunt of both their demands, that both *Peter* was at Rome and there martyred.

[***]

FIG. 36

Exod. 31. 1. Reg. 12. ticæ primò in *deserto*, postea sub *Ieroboamo*, quod *Iehovæ* (sub vitulis aureis repræsentato) *festum* constitueret.

3. Quum primus dies uniuscujusque hebdomadis (a *Iohanne dominicus* dictus) ab ipso Christo, & Apostolis ejus in dominicæ resurrectionis memoriam Deique cultum consecratus sit, non videtur ulli mortalium concessum esse, ut ejusdem resurrectionis memoriale (maximè solenne & sacrum) anniversarium faciat.

Postremo, *ut censeas hominem esse*, ut ait ille, ex quo hæc orta sunt, *& errasse*, (ut mittam, vix ulli mortalium vel mensis diem, vel anni mensem, in quo Christus natus erat, certo innotescere posse, ut econtrario, certo constat, hunc Decemb. 25. qui observatur, not hum esse, & supposititi ū) quę quæso, ratio justa reddi potest, cur Christi natalitijs, circumcisioni, & ascensioni potius quam morti dies sacer habendus sit? quum sacra scriptura ubique doceat, debere nos redemptionem nostram, & salutem, morti illius, & passioni præcipue acceptam ferre.

CAP. VI.

De conjugio per Pastores Ecclesiæ celebrato.

SExto, & ultimo, non possumus accedere ad sententiam eam, & praxim simul inter re-

for-

16,29 30,31. *John* 3,14,15. *and* 5,10. *with* 7,21--24. *and* 10,33---36. *Act.* 17, 2,3. *Rom.*9,6--18. *and* 11.2.5. *and* 15.1 --4. 1 *Cor.*5.1--6.7.8.13. *and* 9. 8---14. *and* 10.1--11. *and* 14.34.35. 2 *Cor.*6.14--17. *and* 8.13.14.15. *Gal.*3.7---13. *and* 4.21--30. *Ephes.*2.11.12.19.21. *Col.* 2. 11.12. 1 *Tim.* 2. 11---14. *and* 5. 17. 18. 2 *Tim.*3.8.9.16.17. *The Epistle to the Hebrewes.* 1 *Pet.*1.15.16. 2 *Pet.* 1. 19.20.21. *and* 2.1---6. 1 *John* 3,11.12. *Jude*, *ver.*3---9. *Rev.* 2.14.15.20.21.22.23. *and* 3. 4.12. *and* 5.8. *with* 8.3.4. *and* 9.13. *and* 10,9.10. *and* 11.1--6.19. *and* 15.2--8. *&* 16,2--8. *and* 18.2--21. *and* 20.7.8.9. *and* 21, *and* 22 *chapters.*

---

*To the Law and to the testimonie: if they speake not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them. Esa.*8,20.

*All Scripture is giuen by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousnes: that the man of God may be perfect, being throughly furnished unto every good work. 2 Tim.*3,16,17.

Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tryed, he shall receiue the crowne of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that loue him. Iam. 1,12.

FINIS.

Fig. 38

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